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Space-Talk Failure: 'Curious Anomaly' Or Same Old Thing?

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Statements out of the Soviet Union and California this past week seemed to end one of the strangest episodes in recent years between the nuclear superpowers as the prospect of early Soviet-U.S. talks on space weapons all but vanished.

The Soviet Union began with a surprise proposal June 29 that

NEWS ANALYSIS

space talks be opened in Vienna in September. The Reagan administration accepted within hours.

The two governments then spent most of the next month haggling over the details in what seemed to be a dialogue of the deaf. Moscow quickly rejected the terms on which Washington accepted the offer. The U.S. administration sent new messages modifying and "clarifying" its initial stand, but these, too, were spurned by the Kremlin.

In the final weeks, the real argument seemed to be over which side would take the blame for saying "no." With the U.S. presidential campaign virtually under way and Soviet policy an important issue, everyone was aware that political stakes were high.

Finally, on Wednesday, an ex-

change of private messages and public attacks left little room for agreement in the short run, although neither side officially abandoned the quest for a meeting. In the longer term, perhaps next year, according to statements made at a White House briefing, further discussions may bring about talks on other space.

A frustrated senior White House official in Santa Barbara, California, called the episode "a curious anomaly" in the normal flow of U.S.-Soviet relations. But observers expressed concern that bitterness and cross-purposes between the superpowers were becoming the norm rather than the exception.

Were the Russians ever serious about opening arms-control talks with the Reagan administration in September, at a critical point in the U.S. presidential campaign? If serious, what did they hope to achieve and, if not serious, what did they expect to gain? Why did the administration, faced with a possible political bonanza, handle the offer as it did? And where do U.S.-Soviet relations go from here?

Only tentative answers were available as government and other experts pored over the latest words from Moscow and Santa Barbara and looked back on the byplay of the past month. The main lines of informed opinion suggested that a September meeting in Vienna was never in the cards.

From this latest Soviet statement, it appears that the Soviets were not serious about their proposal," the national security adviser, Robert C. McFarlane, said. In fact, many officials were dubious almost from the first about Moscow's purposes.

When Ambassador Anatoli F. Dobrynin presented the Soviet talks proposal to Secretary of State George P. Shultz in a private meeting July 29, there was brief optimism within official ranks. But then Moscow announced the plan publicly several hours later in a publicity campaign that Mr. Dobrynin had not mentioned, and doubts grew swiftly over whether the Russians were serious.

The Reagan administration had let the Soviet Union know earlier that it was willing to engage in preliminary discussions, but not to negotiate, on space weapons. The Soviet foreign minister, Andrei A. Gromyko, taking the opposite tack, informed U.S. officials personally that the Kremlin would engage in formal negotiations on space weapons whenever the United States was ready, but would refuse to engage in mere "discussions."

From the administration's viewpoint, the June 29 proposal suddenly approached early next week by Mr. Herzog, faces forming



HOSTAGES RELEASED — Red Cross workers evacuate a 3-year-old girl and a 12-year-old boy from a bank in a suburb of San Salvador, where gunmen were holding hostages. A bank guard was killed, but the gunmen surrendered Friday. Also, a U.S. Senate committee has approved a request for more military aid to El Salvador. Page 3.

Knesset Narrowly Supports Peres

By Glenn Frankel
Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — Shimon Peres, the Labor Party leader, has emerged as the favored candidate to form a government to break Israel's electoral deadlock.

The new members of Israel's 120-member parliament, the Knesset, who were elected on July 23, have narrowly recommended that President Chaim Herzog ask the opposition leader to be the prime minister-designate, United Press International reported.

In meetings with Mr. Herzog that ended Friday, 60 members recommended that Mr. Peres get the job, and 54 favored Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Five members chose no one, and the militant Rabbi Meir Kahane, the 120th member, was excluded from the meetings.

Mr. Peres, who is expected to be

dable obstacles that could sabotage his efforts.

Analysts say he and his principal opponents in the Likud bloc ultimately will be forced, against their personal and political preferences, to combine in a government of national unity headed either by him or another Labor Party figure.

That could prove the most rational means to end the political paralysis that took hold after both major blocs fell far short of the 61 seats needed to rule the Knesset.

While either side theoretically could form a government, Mr. Peres holds a fragile advantage for reasons that include ideological differences and local rivalries.

Six of the remaining uncommitted seats belong to two leftist parties whose members would definitely oppose any government formed by the rightist Likud bloc, but would be likely to abstain in a no-confidence vote on the left-leaning Labor Party.

At the same time, the Likud has

had trouble uniting the country's three main religious parties because two of them, the old guard National Religious Party and the newer Sephardi Torah Guardians, are at odds over who should get to head the coveted Ministry for Religious Affairs.

Boat Reported Fired On

Lebanese Army units in West Beirut shot at two Israeli gunboats on Friday, Beirut radio said, according to a United Press International report.

In the port city of Tripoli, north of Beirut, rival Moslem militias exchanged sniper and grenade fire while Israeli gunboats cruised offshore, the Christian-run Voice of Lebanon radio said.

In Tel Aviv, the Israeli Navy denied that its boats had been attacked off Beirut's shores, but a Lebanese Army statement on Beirut radio said units at Ramat al-Baida, a West Beirut beach, had shot at two approaching Israeli gunboats, forcing them to go back out to sea.

Battles in Tripoli erupted after the assassination Thursday of Dr. Ismat Murad, a Sunni Moslem militia leader. In subsequent clashes, two militiamen were killed and seven injured, Voice of Lebanon radio said.

For nearly a week, Mr. Lance had been reported to be dejected and dismayed by his low profile in the campaign. But Mr. Beckel, who met with Mr. Lance for four hours earlier Thursday in New York, said Mr. Lance told him those reports were inaccurate.

The explosion blew out a wall of Mennambakkam Airport's customs hall and caused the ceiling of the arrival lounge to cave in. At least 30 persons were in the lounge waiting for a flight to Abu Dhabi when the bomb exploded, officials said.

The lounge was shattered. We don't know how many people were in there," said Kumaraswamy Chockalingam, chief secretary of the Tamil Nadu state government, of which Madras is the capital.

By late Friday 29 bodies had been recovered, many of them mutilated and dismembered by the force of the explosion. Workers continued to dig through the rubble in search of more victims.

At least 13 persons reportedly were hospitalized.

Sources said airport authorities received three anonymous telephone calls warning that a bomb would explode, but the airport was not evacuated.

K.K. Gulati, general manager of

Algeria	4,011	Israel	15,250	Norway	1,001
Angola	915	Iraq	12,000	Peru	2,700
Indonesia	6,659	Jordan	491	Portugal	50
Iran	40	Korea	91,140	Qatar	6,500
Japan	40,871	Kuwait	500	Qatar	6,500
Kenya	1,120	Liberia	500	Qatar	6,500
China	5,120	Lebanon	12,525	Qatar	6,500
Colombia	6,000	Lesotho	1,000	Qatar	6,500
Costa Rica	7,200	Liberia	1,000	Qatar	6,500
Denmark	7,720	Lebanon	1,000	Qatar	6,500
Egypt	10	Liberia	1,000	Qatar	6,500
Finland	4,070	Lebanon	1,000	Qatar	6,500
France	5,201	Lebanon	1,000	Qatar	6,500
Germany	2,300	Lebanon	1,000	Qatar	6,500
Greece	6,000	Lebanon	1,000	Qatar	6,500
Great Britain	6,571	Lebanon	1,000	Qatar	6,500
Holland	10,110	Lebanon	1,000	Qatar	6,500
Iceland	70	Lebanon	1,000	Qatar	6,500
Iraq	115,800	Niger	170,000	Qatar	6,500

1982

1983

1984

By Milton Coleman

and Bill Peterson

Washington Post Service

NORTH OAKS, Minnesota —

Bert Lance has resigned as general chairman of Walter F. Mondale's presidential campaign, saying the dispute over his appointment three weeks ago made him "a source of diversion" for the campaign instead of a "resource of development."

Mr. Lance, in a letter that he asked be delivered to Mr. Mondale on Thursday, said his action was "solely directed by my own initiative" and he expressed no regrets about the vaguely defined role he was to play in Mr. Mondale's election effort.

The appointment had created a serious political problem for the Democrats. Mr. Lance's critics said Mr. Mondale should not have given such a prominent role to a man who left the administration of President Jimmy Carter under a cloud. In 1977, Mr. Lance resigned as director of the Office of Management and Budget after bank fraud accusations. He was subsequently acquitted of charges of banking irregularities.

Mr. Mondale arrived in Minnesota on Thursday evening from a three-day campaign swing, talked with Mr. Lance by telephone for about 10 minutes and accepted the Georgian's resignation.

"I regret Bert's decision, but I respect it," Mr. Mondale said in a statement issued by his campaign press office. "In recent days he has been subjected to some very tough and adverse publicity. I understand his desire to protect his family from additional pain."

In a statement issued from his home in Calhoun, Georgia, Thursday night, Mr. Lance said:

"As I said in my letter, I did not want to be a source of diversion from the Mondale-Ferraro ticket. It appears no matter what I did or tried to do, that would not be the case. I came to the conclusion that it was in the best interest of all to stand aside."

A friend said Mr. Lance had been agonizing over his decision and began drafting his letter of resignation Sunday night.

Mr. Mondale's choice of Mr. Lance, first to replace Charles T. Manatt as chairman of the Democratic National Committee and later for general chairman of his campaign, drew sharp criticism from some fellow Democrats.

Mr. Mondale's campaign manager, Robert G. Beckel, said Thursday night that he and other top Mondale advisers, eager to find a key role for a man they considered an extraordinary politician and a good friend, simply had underestimated the adverse reaction.

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Instead, it was the re-emergence of questions about the financial dealings of Mr. Lance, a banker and chairman of the Georgia Democratic Party, that drew him to stand aside.

In the port city of Tripoli, north of Beirut, rival Moslem militias exchanged sniper and grenade fire while Israeli gunboats cruised offshore, the Christian-run Voice of Lebanon radio said.

In Tel Aviv, the Israeli Navy denied that its boats had been attacked off Beirut's shores, but a Lebanese Army statement on Beirut radio said units at Ramat al-Baida, a West Beirut beach, had shot at two approaching Israeli gunboats, forcing them to go back out to sea.

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Spain's Carrot-and-Stick Policy Gains Ground Against Basque Guerrillas

By Tom Burns
Washington Post Service

MADRID — Tough police tactics, improved international cooperation in fighting terrorism and an amnesty for repentant guerrillas are part of a comprehensive new carrot-and-stick approach to containing the Basque separatist group, ETA.

"ETA is facing the greatest difficulties it has ever encountered in its history, and this is going to bear fruit," said General Andris Casinello, head of the civil police force, which has had a leading role in combating ETA in the past two decades.

Officials at Madrid's Interior Ministry are encouraged that in clashes between police and ETA gunmen this year the security forces have gained the upper hand.

There is optimism too, over increased collaboration, through the international police agency, Interpol, with the French and Belgian police.

On July 14, the Belgian government, in what Madrid officials called a breakthrough, handed over to Spanish authorities two wanted ETA men.

ETA, the Basque-language initials of Basque Homeland and Liberty, has a record of violence dating to the mid-1960s. The group seeks to set up an independent state in northern Spain for the ethnic Basque community.

Officials said there have been more than 500 victims of Basque political violence since ETA began its activities. On July 19, a police sergeant, shot in the back of the head near Bilbao, became the 28th casualty of Basque violence in Spain this year.

Mr. Casinello, who is considered one of the top anti-terrorist experts in Spain, said "there is an intuition that things are going well" for the security forces and that "ETA is not indestructible."

"Allegances that ETA gained through fear are now being broken," he said.

A symbol of new police aggressiveness was a June gun battle in which two ETA men were killed and a third captured in the town of Hernani, near San Sebastián.

The captured man, José María Zubante, one of the most wanted ETA gunmen and allegedly linked to a number of murders in the past decade, revealed during interrogation "a scenario of growing decomposition in the ETA chain of command," according to an Interior Ministry source.

In April, four ETA men were killed when police fired on them as they attempted to enter a harbor near San Sebastián at night in a rubber dinghy.

Since the beginning of this year, there has been a dramatic change in the tolerance that the Paris government had traditionally accorded the ETA. French

authorities have expelled 23 ETA members, deporting most of them to Central America, convicted six who received jail terms and detained eight more since the beginning of July.

The July arrests were carried out after warrants were issued by Interpol on behalf of the Spanish police. All eight detainees, identified by Madrid as dangerous ETA activists, are awaiting decisions by the French courts on extradition requests from Spain. Another 20 Interpol warrants are said to have been issued.

Officials in Madrid said the arrests marked the first time that Interpol has become involved in anti-ETA operations and that this has occurred because European governments no longer view ETA members as political refugees.

To secure international cooperation, Prime Minister Felipe González has persuaded other European governments that ETA's activities threaten the stability of democratic governments.

At the same time, the Spanish cabinet decided on July 18 to release five jailed ETA men who had testified that they had foreseen violence. The government is reviewing 37 more individual pardon applications out of a prison population of more than 400.

Officials are confident that the pardon negotiations, applicable only to ETA members who have not been

directly involved in murder, will encourage others to seek amnesty. The program is modeled after that used in Italy for members of the Red Brigades.

But if the ETA is unravelling, as Mr. Zubante suggested, it is mostly due to the activities of GAL, the Basque community in southwest France since December.

It is believed that the organization has been responsible for the murders of eight ETA members in the past nine months and for the disappearances of two others, who were kidnapped and not seen again.

Persistent press reports in Spain say that GAL is formed by contract killers recruited from the French underworld and supplied by intelligence services with information on the whereabouts of ETA members.

The Spanish government has denied it has any connection with the anti-ETA actions and no GAL members have been brought to trial in France.

The Spanish Interior Ministry source said the GAL operations had "unquestionably contributed to the weakening of ETA."

As a consequence, the ETA leadership in southwest France reportedly has been forced further underground and is having difficulty maintaining contact with the organization's rank and file.

WORLD BRIEFS

Rights Court Rejects Barbie Appeal

STRASBOURG, France (AP) — The European Commission on Human Rights has dismissed a complaint from lawyers for Klaus Barbie, the Gestapo chief in Lyon during World War II, that his rights were violated when Bolivia turned him over to the French authorities last year.

Mr. Barbie, who is imprisoned in Lyon awaiting trial on charges of crimes against humanity, was expelled from Bolivia in February 1983 and flown to French Guiana, where he was taken into custody by the French.

The European Commission did not comment on its decision. French courts have rejected several similar petitions claiming Barbie was illegally extradited.

Civil, Military Accord Seen in Uruguay

MONTEVIDEO (UPI) — Political leaders have made public the terms of an agreement negotiated with Uruguay's military government for a restoration of "complete democracy" next year. The military government has been in power for 11 years.

The agreement, reached Wednesday night after three days of negotiations, provides for the election Nov. 25 of a president and legislative assembly who will take office March 1, 1985.

The negotiations involved the Colorado and Civic Union parties, other political parties and the commanders of the three armed forces. The political leaders met all day Thursday to discuss the agreement and said that they expected to approve it later Friday. However, the Blanco party refused to participate while its presidential candidate, Wilson Fernández, remained imprisoned on charges of having links with subversives.

U.K. Opposes EC Concession to Libya

LONDON (Reuters) — Britain has told the European Community that the time is not appropriate for an agreement giving preferential trading terms to Libya, the Foreign Office said Friday.

Britain had expressed misgivings at recent meetings of EC foreign ministers, including one last month, about Libya's request for such an association, a spokesman said. He said that it was unlikely that Libya would win agreement on trade favors without Britain's consent.

Britain broke off relations with Libya after a policeman was shot to death in April outside the Libyan Embassy, or people's bureau. Police established that the shots had been fired from inside the embassy. Six Britons were detained in Libya after the shooting and the expulsion of Libyan diplomats from Britain, and are still being held without charge.

West Blamed for Economic Crisis

VIENNA (UPI) — The Soviet Union on Friday blamed the capitalist West for the Third World economic crisis and said it was the West's responsibility to resolve it.

Mikhail G. Kruglov, a Soviet delegate to the United Nations Industrial Development Organization conference, said the only way out for developing countries was through centralized, state-controlled economies. Western sources said the speech resisted familiar stands but was unusually aggressive.

"The main responsibility for the catastrophic impact of the crisis on the economy of the developing world lies with developed capitalist countries," Mr. Kruglov said. "It is evident that the same countries must bear the main responsibility for the removal of the dire consequences."

Thailand Earmarks Funds for F-16A

BANGKOK (Reuters) — The Thai Air Force said Friday it would allocate about 14 percent of its annual budget to buy a squadron of advanced F-16A jet fighters from the United States at a cost of \$300 million.

The U.S. government says it has received no formal request from Thailand for the plane. Bangkok has long been seeking U.S. permission to buy the F-16A although the Pentagon said the made-for-export F-20 or the F-16-79, a less costly version of the F-16, would be better for Thailand.

Plan for Honecker Trip Is Disclosed

BONN (Reuters) — A government spokesman in Bonn disclosed Friday details of the visit to West Germany planned next month by the East German leader, Erich Honecker.

The spokesman, Peter Boenisch, said that Chancellor Helmut Kohl was still assuming that the visit would take place. If it begins as planned Sept. 26, it will make Mr. Honecker the first East German Communist Party leader to visit West Germany. Other Bonn officials said that practical preparations were well-advanced, but that a formal announcement would only be made at short notice.

Western diplomats said East Berlin showed uncertainty. Friday over criticism in the Soviet press of links with Bonn. The Communist Party newspaper Pravda on Thursday made its most bitter attack to date on Bonn's recent backing of credit for East Germany in return for eased travel restrictions.

For the Record

Greek and Turkish Cypriots will confer separately with the United Nations secretary-general Monday in Vienna. UN sources in Nicosia said Friday it might be a last chance to prevent the permanent partition of the island.

The Greater London Council's leader, Ken Livingstone, and three other members resigned as expected Thursday to force a local election over Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's plan to abolish the council. (Reuters)

North Korea has fined three Japanese fishing boats seized last week \$3.8 million yen (\$159,000) for intruding into its 200-mile (324-kilometer) offshore economic zone, a Japanese fishermen's association spokesman said Friday. (Reuters)

The Pentagon told Congress on Thursday that the Turkish government would pay \$129 million for conversion kits to upgrade 600 M-48 tanks, which are more than 30 years old, with better guns and engines. (AP)

The sixth and final leg of the Soviet Union's domestic pipeline project has been completed six months ahead of schedule, Tass said Friday. The agency did not say how much fuel the pipeline would carry or what areas of the country it would serve. (AP)

The Central African country of Burundi will hold a presidential election Aug. 31, the state-run radio reported Friday. (AP)

Former state Senator Victor Ashe, 39, of Tennessee easily won the Republican nomination Thursday for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by the Republican majority leader, Howard H. Baker. Mr. Ashe will face a Democrat, Representative Albert Gore Jr., and an independent conservative in the November elections. (AP)

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration on Friday named eight persons, the largest flight crew to date, to a space shuttle mission in October 1985. The group included a woman, two West Germans and a Dutchman. (UPI)

A West German was sentenced Friday as a spy in Tampa, Florida. Ernst Ludwig Forbrich, 44, an auto mechanic, was sentenced to 15 years in prison for buying U.S. military secrets to pass to East Germany. (AP)

Swedish Firm Yields to Ban On Exports to Eastern Bloc

STOCKHOLM — L.M. Ericsson, the Swedish telecommunication company, has dropped out of the East European market for digital telephone exchanges under the pressure of U.S. restrictions on high-technology exports to the Soviet bloc, according to a company spokesman.

The spokesman said Friday that since the company judged it "highly unlikely" that it would get U.S. export permits for U.S.-made components "we will not be able to deliver our latest technology to Eastern Europe."

The test case for Ericsson, following the recent tightening of rules on the export of technology to the Eastern bloc, was Bulgaria. Ericsson and several other Western manufacturers tendered bids in January to supply a new generation of telephone exchanges to Bulgaria.

The company's vulnerability is due to its heavy reliance on U.S. components in such sophisticated systems as the AXE digital exchanges it was trying to sell to Bulgaria. The system has already been sold to 54 countries, including China and Yugoslavia.

The United States persuaded its COCOM partners that telephone switching gear, large computers and other technically advanced equipment could be used in Eastern bloc defense programs.

Egypt Searches for Mines After Gulf of Suez Blasts

Reuters

CAIRO — Egyptian Navy vessels equipped with mine-detecting devices were searching the Gulf of Suez, following mystery explosions that have damaged several merchant ships, military sources said Friday.

The U.S. Navy has sent a 15-member team of mine experts to Cairo to help with the investigation, a Defense Department spokesman, Lieutenant Colonel Michael I. Burch, said in Washington.

Iranian President Accuses France as Ex-Hostages Leave

Reuters

TEHRAN — President Ali Khamenei, speaking shortly before the freed passengers of a hijacked Air France jet left for home, accused French leaders Friday of being "ignorant and stupid" and of harboring international terrorists.

The commander-in-chief of Boeing 737 was flown to Tehran, where the hostages were released unharmed Thursday and the hijackers surrendered to Iranian security forces just before an explosion damaged the aircraft's fuselage.

The released hostages, 55 passengers and five crew, arrived in France on Friday and were welcomed by Prime Minister Laurent Fabius.

Shortly before the plane carrying freed hostages left, Mr. Khamenei criticized France at a prayer meeting, saying that "its ignorant and stupid leaders gave asylum to the ugliest international terrorists, gave them shelter, supported them."

He said that those really responsible for terrorism were leaders of big countries — France, the United States and others.

Mr. Khamenei referred to the hijackers of the French airliner as "three young Arabs," but there was no indication of what had happened to them after their surrender. They had demanded the release by France of five persons involved in an assassination attempt on former Prime Minister Shapour Bakhtiar of Iran in Paris in 1980.

CHURCH SERVICES

ST. JAMES CHURCH, Via Bernardo Roccia, 13, 50123 Florence, Sunday Eucharist 9:30 & 11 a.m. All communions welcome. The Rev. S.H. Hartman. Tel: 29.44.17.

FRANKFURT CHRIST THE KING PARISH, Sebastian-Str. 22, 6000 Frankfurt am Main. Tel: 0611-53.01.84. Sundays 9 & 11 a.m.

PARIS AMERICAN CATHEDRAL IN PARIS, 23 Avenue George V, 75008 Paris. The Very Rev. Jean R. Lee Dean, Metrop. George V & Almo-Morocco. Sundays 9 a.m., 11 a.m. Church school and nursery 11 a.m. Weddays 12 noon. Tel: 730.17.92.

AMERICAN CHURCH IN PARIS, 45 Quai d'Orsay, 75007 Paris. Tel: 702.07.99. Sunday worship 11 a.m. All communions.

CENTRAL BAPTIST CHURCH, 13 Rue du Vieux-Chêne, 75006 Paris. Metrop. St. Simeon. Sunday worship in English 9:45 a.m., Rev. A. Sommerville. Tel: 007.67.02.

PARIS SUBURBS EMANUEL BAPTIST CHURCH, Reuil-Malmaison, English speaking, all denominations. Bible study 9:45, worship 10:45. Tel: 01.36.56. Rev. Simeon-Kirke. Tel: 749.13.29.

FRANC RIVERA ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST ANGLICAN (Episcopal) CHURCH, Ave. Paul-Doumer, St-Louis, Côte d'Azur. All denominations welcome. Sundays 10:30 a.m.

LONDON THE AMERICAN CHURCH IN LONDON, 19 Tottenham Court Rd. W1. Sunday worship 11 a.m. Church school 9:45. Tel: 580.2191. Rev. Ian Allison.

ROME St. Paul's Within-the-Walls, via Napoleone 58, 00184 Rome, Italy. Sunday worship 8:30 a.m. 10:30 a.m. Tel: 403.339.

ZURICH INTERNATIONAL PROTESTANT CHURCH Schanzengasse 25, Tel: 53.26.22. Sunday school and worship 11:15 a.m.

To place an advertisement in this section please contact:

Ms. Elizabeth HERWOOD 181 Ave. Ch.-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly Cedex, France. Tel: 747.12.65.



PARIS BOMBING — The headquarters of the European Space Agency in central Paris, damaged by a bomb early Friday. The anarchist group Direct Action took

responsibility. The attack, in which six persons were hurt, came two weeks after the group set off three blasts in three days at institutions connected with NATO.

Officers Wary of Anti-Satellite Arms

By Leslie H. Gelb
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Senior military officers, countering the view of some civilian leaders have expressed reservations about the need for a low-altitude anti-satellite weapon, according to administration sources.

Important segments of the navy, in particular, are said to believe that ships at sea can evade detection by Soviet satellites, making it unnecessary to shoot them down. Given navy attitudes the air force, which is responsible for financing the \$4-billion anti-satellite program, has proposed that the number of weapons to be procured be cut by half, to 21.

But civilian leaders in the Pentagon and in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency have rejected those views and have sustained the program. They have opposed a small, floating mines dropped from a passing ship as the most likely cause, but that they do not know who would be laying mines, or why.

Some officials speculated that an Iranian ship had sown the mines, perhaps in retaliation for Arab nations' support of Iraq in the war against Iran.

The Soviet Union has tested another weapon as a primitive anti-satellite weapon. The United States plans tests this fall. There was speculation that President Ronald Reagan's opposition to a test moratorium could change if the Joint Chiefs of Staff decided that there was no need for the anti-satellite system.

The Joint Chiefs have not yet declared their formal position. The White House has asked them, as well as Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, to submit policy recommendations in the next two weeks on the anti-satellite program, known as ASAT.

"The chiefs are the key to this whole exercise," a Pentagon official said. "No forthcoming ASAT proposal can be made unless they say it is O.K. from a military standpoint.

Right now, they can't agree among themselves what to say and most of

them are betting they won't want to take on Weinberger in a direct fight.

U.S. House Is of 2 Minds On a Question of Ethics

Public Condemnation of an Offender Masks Private Resentment of the Rule

By Steven V. Roberts
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — In the House of Representatives on Tuesday, the lawmakers publicly condemned Representative George Hansen for covering up his financial affairs. But in private, they were voicing deep reservations about the course they were taking.

At a press briefing Wednesday, the speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., said that "the concern talk in the cloakrooms" on Tuesday was edgy and uneasy. Members saw a colleague who had been prosecuted by the Justice Department and convicted of four felony charges and they did not like it.

"The general discussion out here," said Mr. O'Neill, a Massachusetts Democrat, "was that it was wrong."

The cloakroom talk seemed onto the floor only at one point, when Representative Ron Paul, Republican of Texas, defended Mr. Hansen by saying, "A bit of hypocrisy exists in this Congress."

And Mr. Hansen drew an appreciative laugh when he told the members that, if the law were strictly applied to all of them, Congress might be able to raise a quota in a federal grand jury room.

Most House members felt that Mr. Hansen had deliberately tried to hide his business dealings. In any case, few were willing to take the risk of defending their colleague during an election campaign, and he voted to reprimand him was overwhelming.

No matter how they feel about Mr. Hansen personally, many lawmakers resent the Justice Department for bringing a criminal case against a member of Congress for failing to fill out the form required by the Ethics in Government Act.

As Mr. O'Neill noted, the law was drafted to include only civil penalties and it was "never the intent" of members of Congress to make themselves vulnerable to criminal prosecution. The Justice Department, their argument goes, went too far when it prosecuted Mr. Hansen under a general law banning false statements.

Moreover, some members complain that the ethics act makes spouses of public officials subject to unfair scrutiny. Of the four transactions that Mr. Hansen did not report on his disclosure form, three involved his wife.

As Representative Bill Frenzel, Republican of Minnesota, said during the debate, "It is absurd to think that our spouses are elected to Congress and that their affairs are necessarily intertwined with

ours." The requirement that public officials report their spouses' financial dealings in most cases, Mr. Frenzel added, "is a bad feature of the law which ought to be removed."

The Ethics in Government Act was adopted in 1978, after the Watergate scandal, and it requires members of Congress and other high-ranking public officials to file annual reports detailing their financial assets and activities.

Representative Don Edwards, a California Democrat, has little sympathy for the complaints. The law, he says, "is good public policy" that prevents conflicts of interest. Without it, he added, "some members could be accused of hiding something."

Representative Nick J. Rahall, a West Virginia Democrat who is a member of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, says the law represents "a pretty evenly balanced response to the excesses of Watergate."

Some members disagree. They say that the disclosure requirements make them and their families vulnerable to blackmail and kidnapping threats.

But the provision causing the most grumbling involves spouses and the issue was highlighted recently by two incidents. Senator Mark O. Hatfield, an Oregon Republican, acknowledged that he helped a Greek financier who had paid his wife \$40,000 in real estate fees. But the senator denied any impropriety, and his wife's right to have "an independent career."

After Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro of Queens, New York, was nominated as the Democratic vice presidential candidate, it was disclosed that she had used a clause in the law that permits a public official to withhold information about a spouse's financial assets, as long as the official does not control, or benefit from, those assets.

Ms. Ferraro has promised a full disclosure of her own assets and those of her husband, John A. Zaccaro, a real estate broker.

Mr. Frenzel contends that the current law is unfair to congressional spouses.

"We're at a stage of societal development," he said, "where spouses have rights of their own and they shouldn't be lumped in with the spouse who happens to be elected to Congress."

But Representative Patricia Schroeder, Democrat of Colorado, argued, "Nobody can be in this business without his or her spouse being in the business." As a result, she said, spouses should be subject to inspection and free of any taint.

AMERICAN TOPICS

Now, the Hip Way To Sign Young Voters

The image of the League of Women Voters may be staid, but its approach in a drive to register persons 18 to 34 years old is decidedly modern. The nonpartisan civic organization has teamed up with RKO Radio in a voter registration campaign that will feature break-dancing contests, popular musicians, radio promotions and sign-up opportunities at rock concerts.

"We'll reach them through the medium they listen to and the kind of activities they identify with," said the president of the League of Women Voters, Dorothy S. Ridings.

The target audience is the 47 percent of the 18- to 34-year-olds who are not registered to vote — primarily low-income, uneducated, and highly mobile members of that group.

A Black Family Crisis: The Risks of Absence

A "steady attrition" in the number of black men willing and able to support a wife and children has created a crisis for the black family in America, the National Urban League says.

The civil rights organization says that black men face pressure from birth through adulthood that takes a toll at all ages.

Dr. James McGhee, the league's research director, says that "the wonder is not that so many black men are wounded

and crippled" by discrimination, "but that so many survive with their minds healthy and their souls intact."

But, he said, "for each one that falls there is one less man to be a husband to his wife, a father to his children, and a provider for his family." Among their risks are a death rate from accidents and violence at a rate 1.5 times higher than that of white men, and a homicide death rate six times that of white men.

Making Dreams Real For Dying Children

Before four-year-old Vicki died of leukemia this year, at least one of her dreams came true. She and her family got to see Mickey Mouse at Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida. They were sent there through Operation Liftoff, one of 25 to 30 such groups around the country that works to fulfill the wishes of seriously ill and dying children. The groups are spending an estimated \$1 million a year to help more than 1,000 children cope with cancer and other diseases.

Typically they send toys and birthday cards to sick children, pay for family trips to Disney World in Florida and Disneyland in California, and arrange for telephone calls and visits from celebrities.

The Sunshine Foundation of Philadelphia has sent children to pray in Lourdes, France. The Shrine of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, in Quebec, sent a girl who had

crippled by discrimination, "but that so many survive with their minds healthy and their souls intact."

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Ray Esposito, who founded the Brass Ring Society of Tulsa, Oklahoma, said, "My goal is that no child anywhere in this country shall ever die with an unfulfilled dream." According to data from the National Center for Health Statistics, 8,360 children aged 1 to 14 died of diseases in 1982.

Short Takes

A Virginia doctor is facing two to ten years in prison on charges of performing faked abortions on women who were not pregnant. Among the women, Dr. Chris Simopoulos wrongly told they were pregnant, authorities say, was one who submitted a sample of a man's urine for testing, one who had been sterilized, and a Norfolk policewoman who arrested him as he was about to perform an abortion on her. The lawyer for Dr. Simopoulos, 46, says it's a problem of misdiagnosis.

Teenage runaways who have second thoughts but little or no money can now get free rides home provided by Trailways Corp., the bus line. The program, called "Operation Home Free," has been averaging 10 teenagers a day since it began in June. To get the rides, runaways must contact local authorities, who then notify hometown police.

The defense has asked U.S. District Judge Robert M. Takasugi to instruct the jury on the legal definition of entrapment. Entrapment means the tricking of someone by government agents into performing an illegal act he would not otherwise perform.

Mr. De Lorean's attorneys contend that their client, out of fear for his safety, never consummated a deal that prosecutors said contributed to an illegal narcotics conspiracy. He only led undercover agents to believe he had, the lawyers argue.

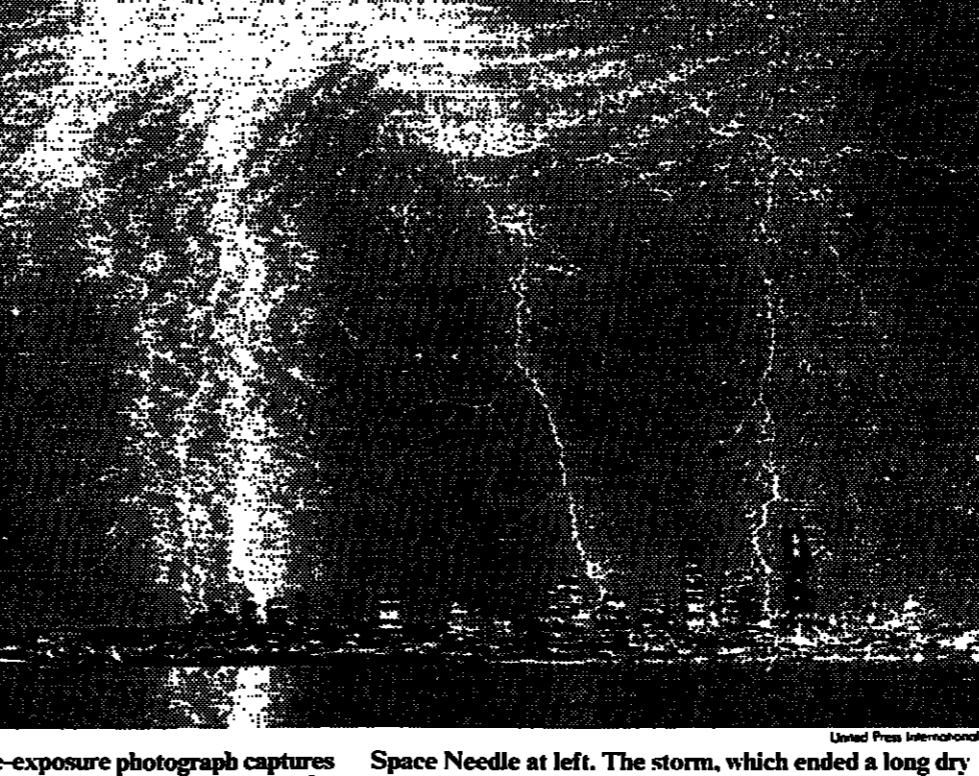
Mr. De Lorean was charged in a federal indictment with conspiracy to possess and distribute 55 pounds (25 kilograms) of cocaine after an undercover investigation in 1982, when he was trying to raise money to save his sports car factory in

Northern Ireland from bankruptcy. The factory was ordered closed by the British government when Mr. De Lorean was arrested in Los Angeles.

Testimony in Mr. De Lorean's trial ended after the court heard Gerald V. Scotti, a defense witness. Mr. Scotti resigned from the Drug Enforcement Administration last year after an investigation into charges that he disclosed information without authorization to a friend who was a defense attorney.

Mr. Weitzman asked Mr. Scotti if he had been surprised that his supervisor had given the information to the prosecutor, Robert M. Perry.

Mr. Scotti said he had long known "that the government would go to any depths to prosecute Mr. De Lorean."



SKY LIGHTS — A time-exposure photograph captures an electric storm over the skyline of Seattle, with the

Space Needle at left. The storm, which ended a long dry spell in the area, caused numerous power failures.

Computer War Game Reveals U.S. Weaknesses

By Fred Hiatt
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A computer war game conducted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff last fall showed that U.S. armed forces had enough ammunition and other supplies to fight only one small war in one part of the world, according to Defense Department officials.

The military exercise, called Preposition Point 84, showed that the army would run out of key munitions and other items in the first month of a war in South Korea and could be forced to accept a stalemate because of shortages of supplies.

If another crisis simultaneously developed in Egypt or Central America, the military would be unable to support the troops sent there, according to the results of the exercise.

The Joint Chiefs concluded that the military was not prepared logically for anything more than a short and limited conflict, according to those who have seen reports about the exercise.

Stocks of conventional munitions were found to be well below the minimum acceptable for even a small war, and a war in Europe, which was not simulated, would cause still more severe problems, officials said.

The results of the computer-run exercise, which have not been officially released, lend support to a recently published report by the investigative staff of the House Appropriations Committee's defense subcommittee.

That report, based on research in 1982 and the first half of 1983, concluded that the army "does not have the men and material to sustain combat operations in a major contingency" and that the navy could not sustain full combat operations for more than a week.

Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger denounced the House report as outdated, wrong and dangerous. He said that the administration of President Ronald Reagan had bought "a great deal of ammunition," and he suggested that the House report had been politically motivated.

Attempts to obtain comment from the Defense Department about the exercise were unsuccessful, a source said.

The Pentagon's test last fall showed serious problems in ammunition supplies, sealift operations and the other unglamorous but necessary support systems. It covered all four services.

Preposition Point 84, instead of examining logistics at the outset of the war as most previous exercises had done, began its investigation 30 days after an imaginary North Korean invasion of South Korea.

In the scenario, the military was found to have encountered severe shortages in Korea alone even before a month had elapsed. The marines based in Okinawa had adequate stocks, but the navy had to draw on stocks in Europe and the Atlantic, and the air force had to significantly deplete munitions stocks around the world.

The army was most severely pinched, however. It was having to ration 42 of 51 essential items after one month, and one week later 33 of those had been used up. The commander of U.S. forces in Korea had to limit the use of ammunition to 25 percent of normal and, later, to 10 to 20 percent of normal to avoid running out, the war game showed.

Even if the army emptied its reserves in the United States and left only 15 days of supplies in Europe, the commander in Korea would not have enough munitions, could not fight the war properly and would be forced to accept a stalemate, the exercise found.

A shortage of cargo ships aggravated the situation; supplies piled up in West Coast ports. The backlog for shipping reached 500,000 tons, meaning that what supplies were available reached the war 11 days late.

The exercise also simulated a Libyan incursion into Egypt 26 days after the Korean invasion and examined in a cursory way what would happen if U.S. forces prepared to deploy to counter a Nicaraguan attack on a Central American neighbor.

The inadequacies became even more apparent with the simulated Mideast crisis, requiring the deployment of one marine brigade and two army brigades. Pre-positioned marine supplies on ships in the Indian Ocean had already been sent to Korea, and the army had no supplies left anywhere for its troops.

Leningrad Police Beat U.S. Marine, Embassy Charges

The Associated Press

MOSCOW — Plainclothes and uniformed police beat a U.S. marine attached to the consulate in Leningrad and then held him in a police station for two hours, a U.S. embassy spokesman said Friday.

The spokesman, Jaroslav Verner, said the embassy had sent a protest to the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Moscow and the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

Valentin Kamenev, deputy head of the press department of the Foreign Ministry, rejected the U.S. protest and said Soviet authorities were "as fully qualified as the career staff to hold the positions they do." He also said that under his direction, the agency's budget has climbed from \$458 million in 1981 to a proposed \$885 million for the 1985 fiscal year.

He said an agency representative now attends Secretary of State George P. Shultz's daily staff meetings and "provides greater input to the National Security Council." He added: "Agency employees are playing a vital role in managing the public diplomacy aspect of presidential trips for the first time."

General Gorman brought up the proposal in congressional testimony Wednesday.

Senator Robert W. Kasten Jr., a Wisconsin Republican, sponsored the amendment to provide the \$117 million in additional military aid to the Salvadoran government of President José Napoleon Duarte, along with \$120 million in economic assistance.

After its passage, Mr. Kasten said, "We feel that since Duarte is now exerting leadership and control over the military, they need to move forward."

The measure was passed without a fight from Democratic opponents. But Senator Daniel K. Inouye of Hawaii, the ranking Democrat on the Appropriations Committee's Foreign Operations subcommittee, indicated he would fight the amendment on the Senate floor next week.

Mr. Inouye, who was instrumental in working out a \$62-million compromise on military aid for El Salvador earlier this year, contends that he did so with the understanding that it would be enough for the year.

There are no plans to increase the number of advisers in El Salvador, said Lieutenant Colonel Michael I. Burch, a Pentagon spokesman. He said General Gorman had made no formal request for more trainers, but sources said he has suggested the increase informally.

Senate Panel Approves Aid Plan for El Salvador

By Helen Dewar
and Margaret Shapiro
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Senate Appropriations Committee, controlled by Republicans, has approved President Ronald Reagan's full request for \$117 million in additional military aid to El Salvador this year. The action came one day after the Democratic-controlled House refused to appropriate any funds.

The two chambers also moved toward a clash on Nicaragua, with the House on Thursday approving an intelligence authorization bill for next year that included some of the \$28 million requested by the Reagan administration to support insurgents fighting the leftist Sandinista government.

The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence has approved the request.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon rejected a recommendation by General Paul F. Gorman, commander of U.S. forces in Latin America, that he needs 125 U.S. military trainers in El Salvador, more than double the current 51 and the administration's ceiling of 35.

There are no plans to increase the number of advisers in El Salvador, said Lieutenant Colonel Michael I. Burch, a Pentagon spokesman. He said General Gorman had made no formal request for more trainers, but sources said he has suggested the increase informally.

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Hong Kong Tests Beijing

The British and the Chinese are proceeding smoothly toward agreement on the terms on which the former will relinquish sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997, when Britain's 99-year lease expires. The "framework and key clauses" have been announced, and the common expectation is that after more tough negotiating, China's September deadline will be met. The interesting feature — the hope for the future — is the extent to which the two sides' interests appear to coincide.

Britain's interest is to leave, reasonably gracefully, on terms that offer its former colony a fair chance to retain the autonomy and stability that have made it an entrepreneurial dream: the world's third most important financial center and 18th biggest trading power (China, by the way, ranks as number 22), whose 5.3 million (Chinese) people enjoy a degree of liberty and a life-style unmatched and unimaginable on the mainland.

China's first interest is to retain its national patrimony. But the pragmatists in the post-Mao leadership have also shown an intense appreciation of Hong Kong as the goose that lays golden eggs. Some in Beijing see it — as they see the special economic zones recently set up in China to attract foreign investors — as a "pollution circle" that takes Communist China down a decadent "capitalist road." The

dominant faction, however, seems delighted to be reclaiming a rich and efficient capitalist enclave in which registered Rolls-Royces outnumber rickshaws 633 to 14.

It is to ensure Hong Kong's continued good health and calm nerves during the 13-year transition to Chinese rule that Beijing has promised to maintain the jittery jurisdiction's legal system, its financial autonomy and its independent economic role, and to preserve "all the rights and freedoms" that its residents now enjoy, for 50 years beyond 1997.

Are China's guarantees adequate to keep Hong Kong's money and talent on tap during the transition? At any moment Beijing could send in the troops or provoke the riots that would make a joke of its formal consent to "one country, two systems." Only lately have the British seen the value of devolving institutions of democratic self-rule upon the colony in order to make it harder for the Chinese to change the pattern in 1997.

China's reasons for making good on its word, however, are evident: to keep Hong Kong profitable, to preserve the respect of those who are observing Beijing's Hong Kong progress, and, not least, to provide a reluctant Taiwan with a comforting example of the safety and benefits of mainland Chinese rule.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Duarte Difference

José Napoleón Duarte deserves a cheer, maybe two — and help. In his two months as El Salvador's elected president he has managed to build authority at home by opening minds to build. When crusty Democrats in the U.S. House of Representatives like Clarence Long say they now favor \$306 million in economic and military aid, Mr. Duarte has proved himself a better salesman than the White House. He also won a hearing in skeptical Western Europe and the offer of \$19 million in aid from West Germany.

These are more than personal successes for a decent Christian Democrat. However imperfect his election, Mr. Duarte has a stronger claim to speak for El Salvador than the guerrillas on his left and the generals on his right. Their power rests on guns, his on a yearning to end the civil slaughter and open a closed political system. His confidence that this is still possible has opened minds and purses.

Despite his triumphs abroad, he has had to move circumspectly at home. With an eye to his armed forces, he has refused unconditional negotiations with the guerrillas' allies, asking instead that they join in a "national dialogue" next year. No takers are likely at this point.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Opinion

Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea

It would be inexcusable for [Britain and China] to let the Chinese takeover of Hong Kong cause chaos and decline, since the colony is now the world's third biggest finance center, after New York and London, and chaos would have repercussions across the world. Although no one can predict the changes that may occur before 1997, the formula by which China has agreed to allow the existence of "two systems" under one state could have useful application to the Taiwan question and unification of the Korean peninsula.

— *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tokyo).

Mrs. Gandhi vs. Western Media

Mrs. Gandhi has accused Western media of distorted reporting on Punjab, implying that much of this may have been manufactured. The Soviet media have also criticized Western press reports on Punjab. The coincidence, one would expect, is embarrassing for the prime minister. One must still hope she does not need Soviet endorsement of her complaints.

It is curious that Mrs. Gandhi should have waited so long to castigate Western media. Could the timing be linked to the fact that the drosses of British, American, French and Canadian journalists who had flown in to interview her have now left? And receiving favorable front-page coverage in Western newspapers does not matter that much to her now?

Mrs. Gandhi could hardly have expected more satisfactory reporting of the army action in Punjab than she has received in the West.

— *The Statesman* (New Delhi).

Toward a Proper Price for Oil?

For more than a decade world oil prices have been set by OPEC. Now OPEC's power may be challenged as never before. On the spot market a barrel of oil sells for \$2 less than OPEC's official \$29. Surplus production has more and more been finding its way into the spot market. OPEC members are pledged to

limit collective production to 17.5 million barrels a day, but cheating has lately raised actual output to as much as 19 million barrels a day.

The Soviet Union, which exports 1.3 to 1.8 million barrels of oil daily, has announced that it will cut its price by \$1.50 below what OPEC is trying to charge. In the absence of an unexpected spurt in demand, a cheaper Russian product and a very active spot market will almost certainly draw customers away from producers trying to hold the price line.

Crude oil demonstrably remains overpriced, given the demand. How much should oil be selling for? It costs well under \$1 in the U.S. to produce a barrel of oil and load it onto a tanker. But the costs of getting a barrel of oil out of the North Sea or Alaska or other frontier areas is far higher. Without imposed production and price restraints from OPEC, some oil analysts have suggested, prices could fall to \$15 a barrel. Such prophecies, though, are likely to prove as unrealistic as those just a few years ago that saw oil hitting \$50 or more by the mid-1980s. The best way to determine oil's real value is to have a market free from dictated prices and production quotas. Things may be edging in that direction.

— *The Los Angeles Times*

Olympics: 'Come On, The Rest'

I wonder when the Olympic Games are going to start. I mean, this current tournament, the American All-Stars against Various Bits of the Rest of the World, has its moments, but my television, at least, seems to be giving me an awful lot of the All-Stars.

The American crowds have made the whole thing clear: The Olympic Games are a little mirror of the United States against The World. And that being the case, come on The World, say! The unadmitted American jingoism of the Olympic Games has taken us rather by surprise. All this adherence to the national religion of Americans in victory has us praying for victory for Nicaraguans, Koreans, Virgin Islanders, Chinese, even Frenchmen.

— *Simon Barnes in The Times (London)*

FROM OUR AUG. 4 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1909: Saved by a Fountain Pen

NEW YORK — A shooting affair in a crowded elevator caused a sensation in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel [on Aug. 3]. Mrs. Neville Castle, of New York, a sister of Captain Henry Scott of the United States Coast Artillery, shot Mr. William B. Craig, a lawyer of this city, in the chest. The woman was arrested. Mrs. Castle was handsomely dressed. She is twenty-eight years of age. Mr. Craig was saved by his fountain pen, which was struck by the revolver bullet, causing the latter to deflect. The police said at first that the shooting was due to financial matters, but declared later that the relations between the couple involved more than these.

1934: A U.S. Air-Defense Program

WASHINGTON — A \$33,000,000 aerial defense program, designed to guard the country from enemy air raids, has been drafted by the War Department and will be submitted to the next Congress, the Associated Press disclosed [on Aug. 3]. The program envisions the purchase of the latest-type anti-aircraft guns, searchlights and fire-control equipment for eight regular army regiments, seven National Guard regiments and nineteen Reserve Corps units. War Department experts contend that the country needs 3-inch guns with a 25,000-foot vertical range to combat bombing planes and half-inch caliber machine-guns to combat low-flying "strafing" planes.

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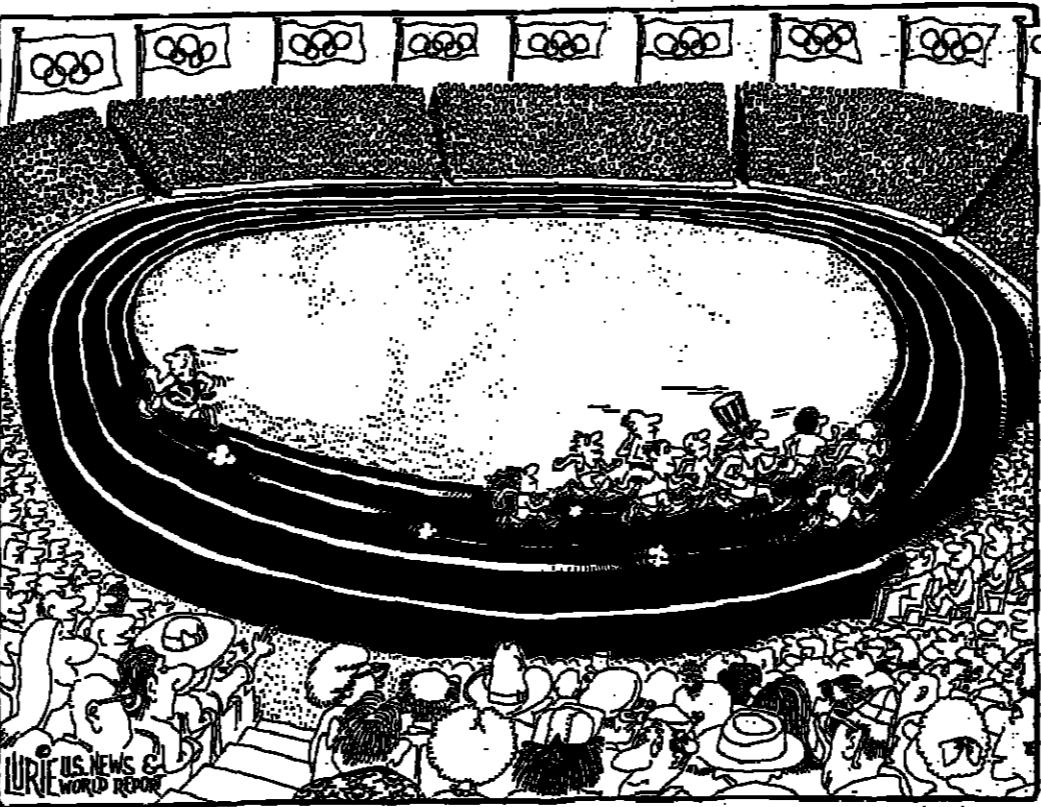
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When a Democratic Restoration Is at Risk

Argentina: Well-Wishing From Afar Isn't Enough

By Ambler H. Moss Jr.

MAMIAMI — It is time that Washington showed greater understanding of the political dimension of the Latin American debt crisis.

We have seen various Latin American countries go to the financial brink in the last two years. Perhaps we now tend to look at each new crisis as a return of "The Peril of Pauline." We don't worry too much because we know that the heroine never quite drops off the cliff.

But temporary solutions will not eliminate the real danger — in Argentina's case, the potential early death of newly gained democracy.

President Raúl Alfonsín's inauguration last Dec. 10 ended nearly 10 years of mismanagement and terror under military junta.

The left and the right combined to reduce Mr. Duarte to passivity in the past, so hope needs to be restrained. But he has a mandate. The new president is the one who has ruled the country and who has the pressure on him to spike domestic reforms.

His ability to tame the security forces will not be as great as the one he has shifted some key commanders and seeks inquiries into a massacre of peasants and the still unpunished murder of Archbishop Oscar Romero in 1980.

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WEST AFRICA

A SPECIAL REPORT

SATURDAY-SUNDAY, AUGUST 4-5, 1984

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Continent of Coups

Why are West African countries so prone to coups? A major reason is that the technology of destruction in Africa is ahead of the technology of production.

By Ali A. Mazru

ANN ARBOR, Michigan — West Africans are passing through a period when the economic vices of their governments seem to be regarded as more important than their political virtues.

Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the fate of the government of President Shehu Shagari in Nigeria. The years 1979 to 1983 were perhaps the freest four years in Nigeria this century — certainly from the point of view of the open society and candid dissent.

It is arguable that these four years were the golden years of press freedom in Nigeria. The reputations of the rulers were emphatically not spared. Perhaps nowhere else in the Third World were those in power more openly denounced in their own country as "pirates and robbers." Sometimes the press came close to inciting violence. Opposition leaders did incite violence — and got away with it.

If political dissent means anything, it reached its highest peak in Mr. Shagari's Nigeria — sometimes higher than in Western countries, with their laws against incitement, against "clear and present danger" and against disclosure of official secrets.

Yet the Shagari administration was one of the most economically corrupt and incompetent in Nigeria's history. The nation's oil resources were rampantly abused, its finances depleted, its laws of contract desecrated, its laws against corruption ignored, its teachers unpaid, its people impoverished. Never was a country's economic promise so quickly reduced to economic rampage.

Mr. Shagari's balance sheet was stark — impressive political freedom against incredible economic anarchy. The military intervened "to save the nation."

Now the Nigerian soldiers are in relative control. They have taken action against economic anarchy with methods that have ranged from stiffer currency controls to an economic war against indiscipline. But they have also taken action against certain political liberties, with secret tribunals to try members of the former government and a decree restricting press freedom.

The administration of President Hilla Limann and his People's National Party in Ghana (1979-1982) was also a case of political openness on the one side and economic corruption, drift and decay on the other. Again, the people of Ghana seemed to be more angered by the economic sins of the government than pleased by the political virtues of an open society. Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings took over as a redeemer. Political liberties declined partly in the name of greater economic discipline.

Upper Volta is more experienced in abrupt changes of government. In August 1983 Thomas Sankara came to power with radical leftist aspirations — one of the many coups since independence. But this time the coup seemed more ideologically purposeful than average. Attempted coups against the Sankara government were not slow in coming, but so far they have been in vain. Is it only a matter of time before Captain Sankara makes his own violent exit?

Soldiers are in the saddle in most places in West Africa — Benin, Togo, Liberia, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Guinea, with narrow escapes in recent times for the rulers of Gambia and Cameroon.

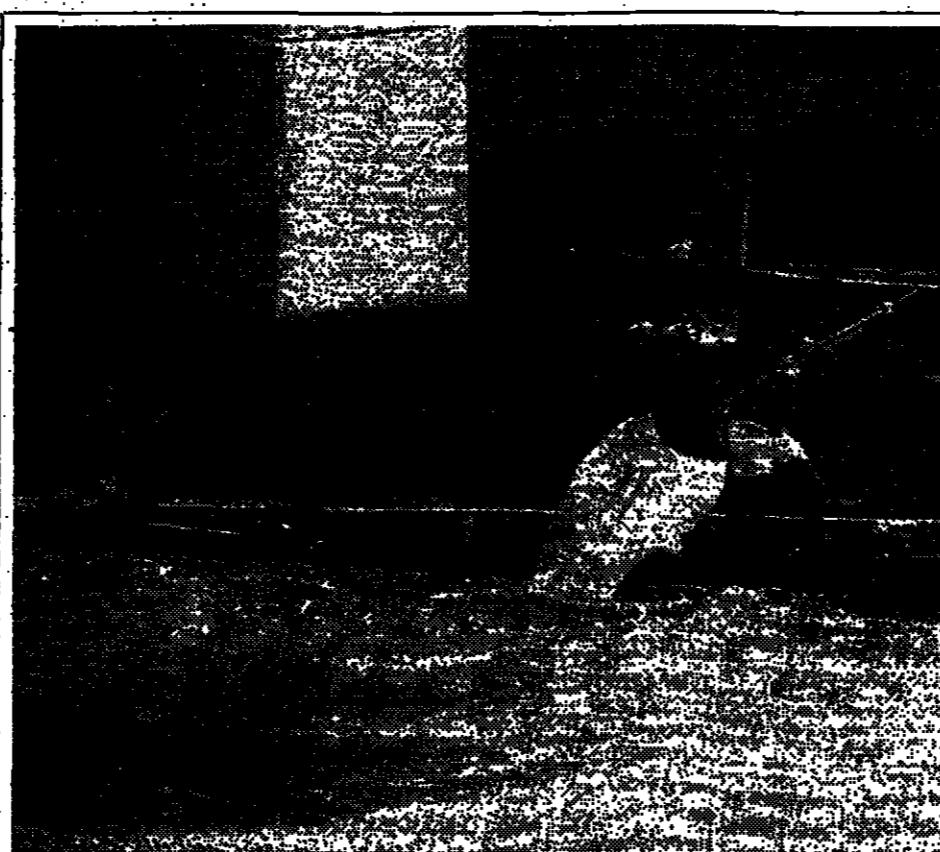
Why are West African countries so prone to coups? A major reason is that the technology of destruction in Africa is ahead of the technology of production. Ultimate power resides not in those who control the means of production — as Marxists would argue — but in those who control the means of destruction.

When Idi Amin exiled the Asians in 1973, he was throwing out part of the economic establishment of Uganda in control of major sectors of production. Marshal Amin then turned against the African bourgeoisie as well. It was quite clear that his *hunger martial* was calling the shots in more senses than one. The original owners of the modern means of production were helpless in the face of tribesmen operating tanks and mortars.

A related reason Africa is coup-prone is that most other institutions (labor unions, professional associations, religious leadership) are relatively weak, unable to stand up to the military. Africa has a low level of

(Continued on Page 10)

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Emerging Aid Policies: Hopes for African Development, Increased U.S. Business

By Michael Maren

NEW YORK — A consensus has been reached within Washington's trade and aid circles, and a new and coherent policy seems to be emerging for U.S. economic relations with Africa. Supporters of the policy say their plans will not only promote African development but also be a boon to U.S. investors and exporters.

What is being offered is a loose package of incentives that amounts to a free-market solution for a staggering array of economic and political ills. There are incentives for African governments to dismantle marketing organizations and replace them with free-market mechanisms, and incentives for Africans to accept U.S. business. The results, according to planners, will be stronger economies, more stable political systems, better U.S.-African relations and increased U.S. exports.

The effort is being coordinated by the Inter-Agency Group on the Private Sector in Africa,

an informal coalition of U.S. government agencies including the Export-Import Bank, the Agency for International Development, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) and the departments of State, Commerce, Treasury, and Agriculture. The group was formed after congressional hearings last year at which it was determined that there was no coordination among the various agencies that deal with U.S.-African trade.

Though the agendas and goals of these agencies are diverse, they all agree that Africa's economic problems are caused largely by inefficient bureaucratic control of the continent's economies. If Africa persists with these "misguided policies," U.S. officials assert, no amount of foreign assistance will help. "We need to encourage private investment as a legitimate tool, even as a requirement, for economic development," an AID official said.

While some of the agencies are interested only in boosting U.S. trade and investment, AID is

ready to promote a wide range of investment in Africa. AID's Private Enterprise Bureau, formed three years ago, has focused on promoting the indigenous private sector as a replacement for parts of Third World government bureaucracies.

The bureau has acted in an advisory capacity to African and other Third World governments that request help in making these changes. It has provided commercial credit to African entrepreneurs, particularly those who wish to invest in industries related to agriculture. Funds have been made available for AID to help conduct feasibility studies for private investors. U.S. policy-makers expect that stronger private sectors in these countries will pave the way for U.S. private investment.

For countries willing to make structural adjustments, Congress has approved the \$500-million Economic Policy Initiative that was requested by the administration. For the 1985 fiscal year, \$75 million of that fund is available

for selected sectors within African countries that undertake "reforms" aimed at moving toward a free-market system. At first, Congress was reluctant to approve the funds for areas that they would be used as a way for the administration to reward its friends in Africa. The funding was approved only after Congress was given a say about the disbursement.

The interagency group is also encouraging U.S. businesses to consider Africa when they think about investing overseas. OPIC has set up an "opportunity bank" that provides U.S. corporations with information on investment opportunities. Other agencies are arranging U.S. trade missions to Africa while advising African governments on how to make a favorable impression on the Americans.

A study conducted for the State Department by the Battelle Memorial Institute concluded that the primary impediment to doing business in Africa was the "unpredictable and capricious nature of the government bureaucracy."

Though the dismantling of semi-governmental institutions and coaching in Western business practices may partly eliminate these barriers, there is no guarantee that it will raise interest among U.S. businessmen, many of whom regard Africa as a preserve of European business.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Chester A. Crocker has recognized that the United States does not have the historical ties with Africa that Europe does, but he criticized U.S. business, which he said had "not taken the initiative in developing opportunities but has waited for Africans and third parties to come to them."

Mr. Crocker was speaking at a conference sponsored by the Los Angeles Task Force on Africa.

Mr. Crocker also said that U.S. business could help Africans restructure their economies better than the U.S. government could because "American business can speak more candidly and sensitively to African leaders about Africa's policies than we can through official channels."

Mr. Crocker reported that representatives from

Somalia, Kenya, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Gambia, Cameroon, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Zaire, Guinea, Gabon, Liberia and Mauritius had come to the United States seeking advice on how to attract foreign investment.

A major concern raised by U.S. business is over "predatory" financing by the Europeans and Japanese. Responding to persistent claims by U.S. exporters that they were losing business to Japanese and European companies, Congress, in the renewal of the Ex-Im Bank charter in November, gave the bank and AID the authority to issue concessional credits to promote U.S. exports.

In fact, Ex-Im already had this authority but rarely used it. Banking and commerce officials, therefore, interpreted the congressional act as a directive to actively pursue such loans. In passing the bill, however, Congress allocated no new funds, meaning that Ex-Im or AID would have to draw down other funds if they wanted to issue the credits.

Immigration: The Problem That Will Not Go Away

By Patrick Smith

LAGOS — "No leader survives long in Africa after he starts mass expulsions of immigrants," said a Ghanaian teacher who is legally resident in Lagos. "Look at what happened to Kofi Busia after he kicked out the Ghanians from Ghana, look at what happened to Idris Amin after he expelled the Indians from Uganda and now look at what happened to Shagari after he expelled so many West Africans from Nigeria last year."

Undaunted by such precedents, however, the military government under Major General Mohammed Buhari has continued with the deported Shagari government's tough policy of immigration. Since the year-end coup in Nigeria, several governments have reported the repatriation of thousands of illegal immigrants. In March a special airlift took more than 3,000 illegal immigrants to various destinations in West Africa on the government-owned national airline.

There are no accurate statistics on the numbers of migrants traveling around West Africa. Nigerian government officials say more than 1.25 million illegal immigrants were expelled from Nigeria in

the first three months of last year. Other West African governments say the figure could have been as high as 2 million. Of these, some officials estimate, more than 500,000 returned to Nigeria.

A West African diplomat said, "We see the same faces every few months coming to our embassy pleading for some travel documents and because they have got into trouble with the Nigerian police. We call them the hard core of 'returned refugees' who will be coming back to Nigeria no matter what."

Previously such migrants had little difficulty finding work on the fringes of the Nigerian economy as domestics, drivers, laborers or street hawkers. Prostitutes from other West African countries became known as "ECOWAS girls" in Nigeria.

But as declining oil revenues put pressure on Nigeria's economy and factories began closing because of a lack of imported raw materials, unemployment in Nigeria's service and manufacturing industries began rising steeply. Further, the new military government's streamlining of government machinery resulted in many layoffs in the public sector. Nigerians are now taking jobs that would previously have gone to migrants.

The government has tried to eliminate informal employment in the urban center in an attempt to encourage the newly unemployed to return to rural areas and help build up the country's flagging agricultural sector. But neither unemployed Nigerians nor other West African migrants are much interested in farming, where often the work is back-breaking and the remuneration small.

Although the protocol of the Economic Community of West African States on the free movement of people within the region is in its first phase, officials at the ECOWAS secretariat in Lagos said Nigeria's tough immigration policy did not contravene the protocol. "Every country in ECOWAS has its own immigration regulations," said B. Mensah, press attaché for ECOWAS in Lagos. "The people who are being expelled are mainly those who have no passports or travel documents."

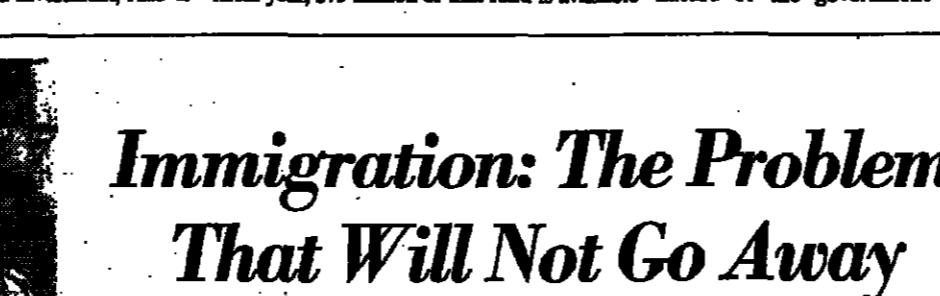
The first phase of the protocol, in effect since 1980, states that any national from an ECOWAS country with valid travel documents can visit another ECOWAS member state for up to 90 days without a visa. This only gives right of entry, however, not work privileges.

Next year the ECOWAS commission on free movement will meet to consider how effective the protocol has been so far and how to put into effect the next phases, which include right of residence and right to establish commercial enterprises for any ECOWAS citizen in any ECOWAS country.

Diplomats from other West African countries say that despite its stringent immigration laws, Nigeria, as the most dynamic nation in the region, will remain a magnet for migrants. "It would help the situation a lot if the borders were better policed," said one diplomat. "One of the main reasons why so many illegal immigrants go into Nigeria was because there were so many immigration officials willing to take a five-naira bribe to allow someone without any travel documents into the country — and in most West African countries a passport is still a luxury item."

Nigeria's new military government tightened up border security drastically — at first to prevent the escape of wanted officials, then to keep dissidents from causing trouble at the borders — particularly during the religious riots in the northeast earlier this year.

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Workers stacking rice bags in the port of Lomé.



Aerial view of a West African coastal town.

A SPECIAL REPORT ON WESTAFRICA

The Progress in ECOWAS: A View From the Top

Aboubakar Diaby Ouattara, executive secretary of the Economic Community of West African States, was interviewed in Lagos by François-Xavier Harispé, an Agence France-Presse correspondent in West Africa.

By François-Xavier Harispé

QUESTION: What progress has there been in ECOWAS this year?

ANSWER: We have now reached a stage where the major focus is the implementation of decisions and programs already negotiated and adopted. At the moment no dramatic development is to be expected, except maybe on the monetary cooperation when the final decision from the heads of states is ready. But when one looks at the programs, it is obvious that progress is steady.

Q: Could you elaborate on some of the development projects that are under way and the extent to which they are being implemented?

A: Since the May 1983 summit meeting in Conakry, the ECOWAS telecommunications program has been implemented. Loan agreements and equipment-supply contracts of about \$25 million for Phase A of the program have been signed. Within 12 months the first batch of equipment will have been manufactured and delivered. Evaluation of tenders for Phase B is in progress and contracts will be awarded by the end of October. By May 1985, all arrangements for financing and contracts for Intelcom I, the first West African telecommunications network, will have been completed.

As for the transport programs,

the ECOWAS Brown Card, a regional automobile insurance plan, was launched in July in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Uniform road legislation is being implemented and, in cooperation with the Economic Commission for Africa, the West African road map has been updated. In other areas of transport, with the completion of a feasibility study plans are now set to establish an ECOWAS coastal shipping company. We have also secured funding for developing the airline industry and the International Civil Aviation Organization has developed a program on navigational aid to improve air traffic security in the region. The recession affects member

West Africa, the drought that affects the region and the global economic recession?

A: The fact that no military coup has had any impact on our organization is very telling. No member country has ever — whatever the regime — gone back on any of its ECOWAS commitments. The drought and the economic recession definitely have a detrimental effect. On the drought problem, we hope that the long-term afforestation and green-belt programs we have for Sahelian countries from Niger to Senegal will help solve the encroachment of desert in the region. The recession affects member

There is a general agreement on the need for monetary cooperation; everybody does agree that something must be done in the monetary field.

countries and makes them think first of how to solve national rather than regional problems. As an organization, we are affected, since resources are becoming scarce because of this shift in priorities.

Q: You have said that the main objective of ECOWAS is now the implementation of projects. This requires people in the field. How is the setting up of national secretariats in progress?

A: The decision was taken to set up secretariats in every country. This has been done, but it is still a little too early to assess how each one of the national structures is performing. Because of the re-

cession, we are now behind in our recruitment programs.

Q: What about the long-awaited monetary union?

A: The monetary union issue is a very sensitive one, but, nevertheless, very essential for the region. At the moment we have about 11 currencies, and only two are convertible. That is a hindrance to trade and investment. The experts who worked on the preliminary study recommended an expansion of the scope. When we started, our concern was to get to a concept of convertibility of the currencies in the region. But we noticed that what it would take for the countries to ensure the convertibility would not be substantially different from what they need in order to set up a monetary union.

Q: You mean that the 16 member countries could have a common currency?

A: There are various ways to achieve monetary union. The main features could be parity arrangements among the countries, or a common currency, or a smaller number of currencies that could be jointly managed. These are the options that we are exploring. There is at the moment a general agreement on the need for monetary cooperation; everybody agrees that something must be done in the monetary field. That's why we decided on the comprehensive approach.

Q: How far have you gone in the implementation of the protocol on freedom movement within the region?

A: The protocol is in force. Now and then some countries close borders — Ghana and Nigeria have had theirs closed for several months — but the implementation does not depend on us but on the members.

Q: You mean that the 16 member countries have not yet implemented the protocol?

A: For obvious ethical reasons, I cannot talk about my success. I was the first secretary of ECOWAS; there is no jurisdiction about who should be my successor — francophone or anglophone — but, in terms of assessment, let us not forget that instead of criticizing the ECOWAS, one should always consider that we only are a reflection of the political decisions, commitments or attitudes of each one of the member states. The implementation does not depend on us but on the members.

Trade Imbalances Are Widening

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It does not become national law until ratified at home, and domestic procedures differ. Ratification may be by the legislature or by presidential decree. What happens if there is a coup or the minister involved is removed from his post?

As comparable trade statistics are available only through 1981, it is difficult to assess the impact of these restrictive measures. The very low level of trade within ECOWAS, estimated at 2 to 3 percent of the members' total imports and exports, is unlikely to have changed much. And the Big Four — Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Senegal and Ghana — no doubt still account for 90 percent of all regional trade.

The survey did note that, when Liberia and Mauritania introduced "drastic measures to improve the balance of payments," they recorded a considerable improvement in their position. Not so with countries such as Benin, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and Sierra Leone, where a series of balance-of-payments protective measures made no significant improvement. The reasons could be a steep increase in fuel bills as well as a lack of major export promotion measures.

The danger of beggarized ECOWAS economies attempting to gain relief by simply raising tariffs was discussed by Maciej Tymowski, trade information projects coordinator in Geneva. Mr. Tymowski pointed out that, at first, newly inde-

pendent states favored import substitution and high protective tariffs as the surest route to prosperity. Now the strategy of export promotion has been found to be better.

Otherwise, Mr. Tymowski said, there could be a downward spiraling chain reaction. "You increase the import tax," he explained, "and that triggers off a price distortion [increase], which causes inflation, and a negative interest rate, where the rate of inflation is higher than the official lending rate. Savings go down, and investments too; there is more unemployment and so a decrease in export capacity, less foreign currency, and a greater dependence on loans and aid from the West. And so it goes on. The best protection for the balance of payments is to boost exports."

Many of the problems of West Africa are present throughout the developing world, Mr. Tymowski said. But outward-oriented countries in Southeast Asia and Latin America successfully adjusted to crises such as the oil price increase of 1973 by liberalizing trade policies and exporting more.

It is not surprising that West African economies are inward oriented, especially in countries such as Gambia, Benin or Upper Volta, where tariffs constitute the largest slice of state revenue. Poor countries have nothing to tax but imports. Duty actually collected, however, averages no more than 30 percent of the expected — or hoped for — potential.

Intercommunity Trade Lags

By Onyema Ugochukwu

LONDON — Commercial and other contacts among the 16 member nations of the Economic Community of West African States have not grown as fast as was expected when the organization was established nine years ago.

Intracommunity trade has re-

mained relatively small, accounting for only about 4 percent of the countries' total external trade, while political relations have retained their predominantly northward orientation.

One reason is the continuing polarization of ECOWAS between the English-speaking group and the French-speaking one, a heritage of the colonial era. While contacts within each group are bold and extensive, they tend to be tentative and limited across the former colonial empires.

A more fundamental cause is the gross inadequacy of communications linking the countries. Telecommunications links are so poor that a message from one West African country to another may have to be routed through Europe.

Road and rail links are underdeveloped, arduous, sometimes hazardous. Roads still account for the bulk of traffic between countries, and plans to improve them are well-advanced. The ECOWAS area is well-provided for under the Trans-African Highway System, with one route running along the coast from Lagos to Nouakchott in Mauritania, another from Dakar to N'Djamena in Chad and a third from Algiers across the Sahara to Lagos.

But most of the network is still under construction and seems certain to face further delays because of the economic difficulties that have affected almost all African countries involved in the construction. Distances are vast and travel along linear routes is often made uncertain by border closures.

The latest border closure was by Nigeria, as part of its preparation for a recent currency exchange. The border between Ghana and Togo has been closed for most of the last two years. Ivory Coast's border with Ghana and Sierra Leone's border with Liberia have seen frequent and sometimes prolonged closures because of political frictions.

Air travel times has become a necessity rather than a luxury for the region, and in the means of transportation for a large portion of the substantial and growing unofficial trade (usually in the form of accompanied baggage) between the countries. Local newspaper reports suggest that market women are increasingly dominating the passenger lists on many routes, arriving early at one destination to trade and returning home with their money and purchases at the end of the day.

The ECOWAS area is well-covered by air routes and each country has a national airline.

Obstacles Remain To New Lomé Pact

By Tony Hill

LONDON — Since October, all 16 states of the Economic Community of West African States, along with 48 other developing countries from black Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific — known as the ACP nations — have been negotiating a new trade and aid agreement with the European Community.

The third Lomé Convention, as the agreements are called, is to take effect when the five-year Lomé-2 pact ends in February. Despite three full ministerial negotiations so far, little headway has been made over the last eight months. The areas of divergence between the two sides on trade, finance, human rights, and the EC's proposal to link aid spending to "policy dialogue" with ACP governments, have scarcely been broached, let alone resolved.

The last ministerial session, in Luxembourg at the end of June, showed the EC itself to be divided, with the British and West Germans proposing greater trade concessions for the ACP and a reduction of funds for the aid package, while the French, Italians and Greeks wanted to maintain aid levels but opposed greater trade concessions, fearing that these would hurt their own producers.

When Lomé-1 was signed in 1975 it was welcomed as a breakthrough in North-South relations. It included a wide range of provi-

sions for assisting the development of the ACP countries, which set it apart from conventional aid programs. On the trade side it offered preferential access to EC markets for ACP exports, and a novel plan for stabilizing the export income of more than 40 ACP agricultural commodities.

The more than \$8 billion in aid allocated in Lomé-1 and Lomé-2 has been used to finance a diverse range of development projects, to assist ACP mining industries in difficult regions, to promote regional cooperation between ACP countries and to encourage industrial development.

But the euphoria that greeted Lomé-1 has disappeared. Flaws in the original Lomé model combined with the disastrous impact of world recession on most ACP countries have created a wide gap between promises and achievements. Despite preferential trade agreements the ACP share of the European market has fallen, from 8.2 percent in 1972 to 5.5 percent in 1981. ACP export losses due to declining world prices after 1979, have not been matched by the funds allocated to the export stabilization plan, or Stabex. And only 50 percent of claims for compensation were met in 1980-1981.

On top of this, the ACP group said that its efforts to diversify exports had run up against protectionist barriers in "sensitive" European markets. It included a wide range of provi-

Immigration: Major Problem

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Ivory Coast, encouraged by its semi-convertible currency and a hitherto liberal import policy, which made trading profitable. For similar reasons Liberia has attracted many migrants from countries such as Sierra Leone and Guinea.

The death of Ahmed Sékou Touré in Guinea and the relaxation of some of his government's more rigid political and economic policies encouraged many Guineans elsewhere in West Africa to return home.

But the predominant motivation for the migrations in West Africa is economic, including the money to be made by playing off nonconvertible currencies like the naira and cedi against the semi-convertible currency linked to the French franc used in most francophone countries of the region. When ECOWAS officials discuss the protocol on free movement next year, at least some are likely to argue that only a more cohesive economic policy in the region can help the community effectively proceed with the protocol.

Ghana's Economic Recovery Programme Takes Off

When the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) Government began to inject discipline and sanity into Ghana's economy under a recovery package, the consequences were almost predictable. With an unprecedented over-valuation of the nation's currency, the cedi, to be dealt with; with the rate of inflation standing at a peak of 116 percent; with production having given way to buying and selling among strong employable youth; what was needed was a comprehensive recovery programme. It came in a Programme for Reconstruction and Development announced in December 1982; followed by a detailed financial policy package in the 1983 Budget Statement.

The Recovery Programme has been painful to the people, particularly that section which benefited so much from the lop-sided economic system inherited by the PNDC. Even those down the socio-economic bottom-line, the lower income group, have had to live with low incomes and fairly high prices. The Chairman of the PNDC, Flt-Lt. J. J. Rawlings, explaining the rationale behind the harsh action, kept telling the people: "The medicine is bitter, but it is necessary."

At the time the PNDC took over the administration of the country on December 31st, 1981, Ghana's account on external payments was in massive deficit, and the net uncommitted reserves estimated at \$43.5 million could only finance a week's imports. Confidence among international financial and banking circles in Ghana's creditability was almost nil. A deficit of C3 million had been left on the shoulders of the sole purchaser of cocoa, the Cocoa Marketing Board, because the previous government had tripled the producer price of Cocoa without making any arrangement for its financing. This was also at a time when poor shipment arrangements had left thousands of tons of cocoa rotting in the bush. In short, Ghana's economy was in a shambles. What the Government called the Programme for Reconstruction and Development was a necessary measure. Stock had to be taken of the ills plaguing the economy. About a year from taking office, the PNDC had not only diagnosed the ills but had also provided the necessary prescription. The Economic Recovery Programme was announced in December 1982, but it was not until April 1983 that it was launched.

OBJECTIVES OF THE PNDC

The objectives were clearly outlined. The first was to restore incentives for the production of food, industrial raw materials and export commodities, thereby increasing their output to modest but realistic levels. The shift from production to distribution among the youth, prior to the PNDC Administration, had affected even the rural population who had then lost the enthusiasm to produce more. It was only through the restoration of incentives that the spirit could be reawakened.

The second objective of the programme was to increase the availability of essential consumer goods and improve the distribution system. Hitherto, the goods that were imported with the nation's scarce foreign resources were distributed only in the urban areas where the big commercial houses operated. The rural folk, who generated the foreign exchange, normally bought the goods through middlemen and at cut-throat prices.

If there was any foreign exchange at all under the previous regime, its mode of allocation was always fraught with motives not connected with any form of priorities. The third objective of the Programme was therefore to increase the overall availability of foreign exchange in the country, improve the allocation mechanism and channel it into selected high priority activities.

The inflation rate of 116 percent was certainly alarming for a young developing country where production and productivity had been given the boot. To lower the rate of inflation was therefore a major objective, but this time it would be pursued by prudent fiscal, monetary and trade policies.

Another important objective of the Economic Recovery Programme was to rehabilitate the physical infrastructure of the country in support of directly productive activities.

And finally, it was the Government's objective to undertake systematic analyses and studies leading towards a major restructuring of economic institutions in the country.

When the Programme for Reconstruction and Development was launched on April 12th, 1983, the rest of the year (1983) was to lay the foundation for a sound macro-economic structure which would improve and rationalize the incentive system of the social and political mobilization effort. The incomes and prices policy had to be overhauled, and the pricing of foreign exchange had to be tackled to offer incentives for production. The Government introduced a system of surcharges and bonuses to earners of foreign exchange. And, in order to mitigate the difficulties which this adjustment would bring to the low-income group, a multiple exchange rate system was adopted involving surcharge and bonus rates of 7.5 and 9.8 times the face value of the foreign currency involved.

These adjustments alone could not solve the Cedi problem. Foreign exchange was scarce, and in order to boost exports at home some foreign assistance was required to rehabilitate the export sector.

While the Economic Recovery Programme was intended to build an integrated self-reliant economy, it did not lose sight

The emphasis of Ghana's Economic Recovery Programme is on increased agricultural production. The picture shows the Chairman of the PNDC, Flt-Lt. J. J. Rawlings, working with the staff of his office on their maize farm.

further request was made for an additional drawing of about \$252 million under a one-year stand-by facility. Both requests were unanimously approved by the Fund's Executive Board on August 3rd, 1983 and the green light was given for the Recovery Programme to take off.

It is not only the IMF which supported the recovery package; the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development gave the nod to the programme and immediately approved a special credit of \$40 million for the importation of urgently needed imports for the agricultural and transport sectors. In addition, the Bank's Executive Board approved further credit of \$93 million for the rehabilitation of the Export Sector; the World Bank's representative in Ghana said: "We support realistic economic programmes, not the politics, of a nation in need."

The Economic Recovery Programme won international applause and confidence. In fact, the African Development Bank threw in a \$30 million credit to improve transport and agriculture while the Arab Bank for Development of Africa (BADEA) pledged a credit line to support approved projects. The response of these international and multi-lateral lending agencies is quite significant if looked at in a wider perspective. As indicated earlier, these agencies had lost hope in the performance of the Ghana economy prior to the advent of the PNDC. In fact, the World Bank had discontinued a number of projects and had shown its dissatisfaction by closing down its offices in Accra. No sooner had the Government launched its Recovery Programme than the World Bank reopened its offices in Ghana.

Can a revolution embrace the World Bank and the IMF as tightly as Ghana's has done?

Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, Dr Kwei Botchwey, has been asked this question several times, and on all occasions he has not minced his words: "Our Economic Recovery Programme was prepared by us in line with our revolutionary transformation exercise. The World Bank and the IMF saw the programme as realistic and lent their support. They did not dictate the programme to us..."

Dr Botchwey has emphasized lots of times that the link with the IMF and the World Bank is not incompatible with the grand objectives of the Revolution's Recovery Programme, citing China, Vietnam and Hungary as examples of countries which have gone through revolutions and yet maintain their dealings with the two international bodies.

CONSULTATIVE GROUP FOR GHANA

In November 1983 a further pat on the shoulder for the Government came with the reconvening of the meeting of the Consultative Group for Ghana in Paris. This meeting which was not a donor's meeting, as some press reports described, brought together the United Kingdom, Italy, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, Canada, the United States, Japan, China, Brazil, The Netherlands and the Republic of Korea. Also present were the African Development Bank, the Arab Bank for Development of Africa, the European Investment Bank, the EEC, ECOWAS, the UNDP, the International Fund for Agricultural Development and the World Food Programme. This meeting indicated acceptance of Ghana's three-year investment programme which was presented there, and some of the participants pledged assistance in various fields. A target of about \$150 million, which Ghana needed for 1984 was met, and another meeting was scheduled for November this year.

Despite the grand designs on paper, 1983 turned out to have its own special highlights for Ghana's economy. Soon

US\$1 = £35.00

العملة في مصر

Sahel: Sharp Rise in Childrens' Deaths Predicted

GENEVA — Doctors working in West Africa's drought-ridden Sahelian belt say they expect to see a sharp rise in deaths of young children.

Health specialists in the region have had their hands full over the last dozen years trying to keep people alive and only now are they isolating research on the long-term effects of malnutrition. But Dr. John Seaman, senior medical officer of the Save the Children Fund, has warned that the widespread presence of marasmus, a body-wasting illness, in Upper Volta will soon be reflected by more deaths in children, especially under the age of 5.

In countries where the infant mortality rate is already more than one in five, it is often difficult to assess the effect of a further catastrophe.

The great drought of 1968-1973 may have killed 100,000 people, of whom children would have made up a disproportionate amount. But as many of the victims were pastoral tribes such as the Peul, Fulani, Tuaregs and others who follow their herds for much of the year, exact figures — even approximate ones — will probably never be known.

One vital lesson that has been learned from observers in Ethiopia, however, is that cultivators, who live all year in villages, should not face the famine but stay put and wait for food aid to come to them.

Paul Shears, who has worked for Oxfam in Ethiopia, said children taken to relief camps are more vulnerable to killer diseases, particularly if already weakened by malnutrition. "The relief centers

are dirty, housing and food are poor, and you are liable to get dysentery, diarrhea, measles or typhus, which is a typical famine disease; food distribution in villages reduces the chances of both malnutrition and sickness," he said.

Dr. Shears cited the example of the Ebinal relief camp in Gondar province, northern Ethiopia, which made headlines last year when malnutrition rates jumped from 25 to 45 percent in two months.

"The problem was that the food ration was insufficient, there was overcrowding and the water was poor, causing massive dysentery," Dr. Shears said. "But 20 kilometers away over the hill, a village in the heart of the drought area, which had received its rations, had no malnutrition or ill health."

The dangers of disruption to the family when it moves from the desert to the town were well-illustrated by the case of Mauritania. Dr. Alberto Pradilla, chief of the World Health Organization nutrition unit, said migrants there, mainly Moors, got enough food but contracted illnesses they had not encountered in the desert.

"Food supply does not reflect the final health status," he said. "India is self-sufficient in food, but its health situation is one of the worst in the world."

This indirect cause of mortality through disease may contribute more to drought death figures than do starvation and malnutrition.

Doctors agree that if an infant gets good breast milk (that is, from a mother who is not malnourished), its chances of survival are high. The most vulnerable period is from weaning, at about 18 months, to 5

years. But these days the mother's lot in Africa, where she is responsible for 80 percent of food production, is seriously undermined in the marginal land of the Sahel. Women fetch water for drinking and washing, and children are neglected if their mothers must spend hours each day searching for working wells.

Nigel Twose of Oxfam, in his report on the drought, "Why the Poor Suffer Most," described women sleeping beside wells in northern Upper Volta in 1983 so that they would be the first to collect the trifle that appeared as the water table rose in the morning. "Less water for washing and cooking means less water for the vegetable garden and less food for the family," Mr. Twose wrote. "The supply of protein, essential for a balanced diet, disappears without the vegetable source. The inadequate water supply means that people drink dirty water, which would have been left in good years. This leads to more sickness, especially among children."

One alarming consequence of the drought has been the spread of cerebro-spinal meningitis to areas where this child-killing disease had not appeared before. The meningitis belt corresponds roughly to the Sahel, stretching from Sudan to the Atlantic. Now that the Sahel has dropped 150 kilometers (95 miles) south, people in northern Ghana and Ivory Coast are contracting the disease. It comes in four-year cycles, starting in the dry season, around January and February, and moves west, probably carried on the trade winds. The germs lodge in the pharynx and spread when dust

irritates the mucus, causing sneezing. As soon as the rains start, the danger disappears.

Dr. René Le Berre, a World Health Organization doctor with many years in the Sahel, said outbreaks of meningitis as far south as latitude 9 degrees north "are a direct consequence of the drought."

Onchocerciasis, or river blindness, is one tropical scourge that has not profited from the drought. WHO has an extensive program to combat the black fly, the oncho vector, which attacks humans working near rivers. But with many rivers in the north of the control area, in Upper Volta and Mali, drying up, the flies have stayed away. Once the rains start, and the rivers flow continuously, insecticide spraying from the air will be resumed. There is one snag — if the river flows slowly, or fitfully, treatment of the water has to take place at more points, making the operation more costly.

Fulani cattle herders have also suffered from having to stay farther south than they are accustomed to. Last year a group in Upper Volta, grazing their cattle in a mosquito breeding area in savannah country near the Niger border, were badly hit by yellow fever.

The outbreak was soon detected, but not before it killed at least 200 people, mostly under the age of 20. Lacking previous contact with mosquitoes, they had no resistance to the disease. Since then more than a million people have been vaccinated against yellow fever. But it is the permanent effects of long-term malnutrition that most worry the

experts. "Almost two-thirds of African children under 5 are affected with moderate to severe degrees of protein-energy malnutrition," Romeo Malone, director-general of the nongovernmental organizations division of the Canadian International Development Agency, said at a Lutheran conference in France in May.

That fraction is certain to be higher in the Sahel. Background Notes, a publication of the Economic Community of West African States, reported recently that 11 member countries — Benin, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, Togo and Upper Volta — require 2.5 million tons of food imports this year, more than half of which would have to be in the form of aid. Although some of the countries, in particular Ghana, are short of grain for reasons other than drought, this makes little difference to a hungry child.

Sahelian infant mortality rates (deaths per thousand of surviving babies up to age 1) are among the worst in the world, according to the latest WHO figures. Only the islands of Cape Verde, with 82 per 1,000, are under 100. Gambia's rate is 198, Guinea's is 165. Even in relatively prosperous Nigeria the rate is 134, while the worst are Sierra Leone at 208 and Upper Volta at 211. These are national averages. In some villages in Mali, infant mortality is 3 in 10.

Further, a WHO report in May mentioned studies on the behavior of drought-stricken populations just carried out in countries such as Mauritania, Senegal and Upper



Lungbunga Village in Ghana's northern region.

Anna Tully

Volta; it speaks of "psychomotor disorders of varying gravity, depressive syndromes and neuroses among the populations. Land and villages are being deserted in the search for less inhospitable abodes."

All this is bringing about a weakening of national cultural values, which is detrimental to physical and spiritual health."

The report warns that the "very survival of over 150 million men, women and children is threatened

and hundreds of thousands of head of livestock are doomed to certain death from lack of water and pasture."

"But we must be cautious," Dr. Gabaudan said. "By long term, we mean a period of, say, six years, during which time other factors like poverty, disease, bad water will play a role. But there can be no doubt that malnutrition is a major contributing factor to a child's neurological development."

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A SPECIAL REPORT ON WEST AFRICA

High Stakes in the Gamble for Oil Production

By Rod Chapman

LONDON — Oil exportation has always been a gambler's play, to a greater or lesser degree, though recent complacency about international oil supplies has tended to obscure that characteristic. With some of the established production areas in the Western Hemisphere beginning to decline, the major oil companies are asking for new cards — and the spate of licensing activity in West Africa reveals one of their main areas of interest.

"We're talking of big concessions and big structures," said an oil executive. "It's real gambling money. If you do hit oil, the chances are very good of a find that will provide big production." The companies' diversification has been encouraged by changing circumstances elsewhere in the region.

The area's leading producer in the past has been Nigeria, whose output drifted above its OPEC production ceiling in the months immediately after the military coup at the start of the year, apparently by tacit agreement with the Saudis and other producers in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. At the end of the first quarter,

Nigerian production was hovering around 1.6 million barrels a day, compared with an OPEC quota of 1.3 million barrels a day. It has now slipped back slightly.

Several factors, however, have cooled the oil companies' enthusiasm for Nigeria. The country reportedly turned away customers in April as it trimmed production, and has remained surprisingly true to OPEC output restraints since. Given its financial straits, the spring of 1982, OPEC showed itself willing to shore up Nigeria, potentially the weakest link in the organization, and the oil industry is running well below capacity.

The constraints, the uncertainties over policies of Nigeria's new military government and the oil companies' problems with working conditions have provided extra impetus to conclude deals elsewhere. Whatever the political complexion of governments in some of the smaller countries along the West African coast, executives now argue that they may provide more stable terms.

This criterion appears to apply, above all, to Angola, the fast-growing African oil producer. In

early June, British Petroleum entered the market by acquiring a 10-percent interest in an offshore block north of Luanda. The area, Block 4, in which seismic work is being carried out, is being explored by a consortium whose other members are the Angolan state oil company, Sonangol, Braspetro of Brazil and Belgium's Petrofina. BP's move into a market it has been watching closely for some time was announced during a visit of a British oil industry trade mission. It could bring greater British involvement in offshore prospects in West Africa.

The British visit followed one by Britain at a top-level Angolan mission at the end of last year, signaling Luanda's intention to involve the British offshore industry in a market previously dominated by French and U.S. companies. Informants from the British mission said a minimum of \$2.5 billion could be spent on developing exploration by the end of the decade.

The problem for Angola, as for other producers in the region, is that output stands to decline in the second half of the decade unless new reserves are developed. Angola's eagerness to look to the future is shared by other West African states, for the same reason. A survey published in April by the British consulting firm Gaffney, Cline showed that offshore exploration drilling in the area dropped

last year — though this was partly offset, as in Angola, by increased development.

The survey concluded that the oil companies drilled only about 40 wildcat wells in 1983, while the figure was nearly double in the two previous years. Total wells drilled dropped to 250 from 270.

Many companies confirm that their interests belie the lull in activities. Amoco, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana, has been particularly active and is one of the biggest license holders in the region.

Earlier this month, Amoco teamed up with two U.S. independents, Aransas and Orlaco, to sign a licensing agreement with Sierra Leone. The area gives an indication of the possible size of the pots the oilmen are shooting for: The license covers 7.17 million acres (2.9 million hectares) — the equivalent of about 100 exploration blocks in Britain's North Sea. Major seismic surveys of the area begin this summer.

Amoco has acquired a similarly vast acreage off Liberia, where just over a year ago it was awarded a 100-percent interest in four blocks still active in the area. The only question mark con-



A Gulf oil rig in the mangrove swamps of the Niger River delta.

covering 5.66 million acres.

Other leading companies, too, are prominently in West African exploration efforts. The Royal Dutch/Shell group is looking for oil off the Ivory Coast. BP is putting down its first well of Guineabissau and the other French state-backed company, CFP (Total), is still active in the area.

The only question mark con-

cerns Elf's plans. Its new president, Michel Pecqueur, is said to be reviewing West African operations, and some reports say his African budgets will be pruned this year. But the first exploration well to be drilled since Guinea-Bissau achieved independence is due to be started this summer, and the Senegalese state oil company, Petrosen, is said to be approaching Western oil companies again.

Guinea: Waiting to See If Promises Are Fulfilled

By Peter Blackburn

CONAKRY — The 50 white villas standing empty near the Conakry seaport are rapidly coming to resemble a cemetery for the international projects of President Ahmed Sékou Touré, who died suddenly after a heart attack in March.

The luxury villas were built to accommodate heads of state attending the Organization of African Unity summit that was to have taken place in Guinea's capital in May. They should also have received heads of state attending the summit of the Economic Community of West African States. Both meetings were switched to different locations and the villas remain empty.

Several hundred million dollars, mainly of Arab money, was spent on improving conference, hotel and communications facilities in preparation for the summits. The investment was all the more remarkable in a town that has seen little new construction since independence from France 26 years ago.

The summits were switched partly because of Mr. Sékou Touré's death but mainly because of the military takeover that followed soon after.

Guinea's new rulers condemned

the Sékou Touré government as a "bloody and pitiless dictatorship" and promised radical changes in policy. But, for all his domestic failings, Mr. Sékou Touré enjoyed considerable prestige throughout Africa as one of the original leaders of the anti-imperialist struggle and the fight for African independence.

Some 19 African leaders, who braved Conakry's sweltering heat to attend Mr. Sékou Touré's funeral, said that they would have considered it "indecency" to go ahead with the summit as planned.

Guinean political exiles say it was poetic justice that Mr. Sékou Touré should have died just before achieving his most cherished ambition: the OAU presidency. Colonel Diarra Traoré, indicated recently that leading members of the Sékou Touré government would be tried on charges of responsibility in the deaths of "many thousands" of Guineans.

Among the accused are the former president's half-brother, Imaïdi Touré, and nephew, Siaïka Touré, both one-time commanders of Camp Boiro.

The popularity of the military government has been enhanced by promises to introduce a society in which human rights, free speech and freedom of movement would be guaranteed.

Under the government plans, it will be possible, for example, for a trader in Conakry to travel home to Mamou, 140 miles (225 kilometers) away in the Fouta Djalon mountains, for a family funeral. Travel within Guinea was strictly controlled before, partly because of Mr. Sékou Touré's fear of coups.

Although the country's new president, Colonel Lansana Conté, has promised to introduce "generally democratic," he has stressed that "racism, regionalism and sectarianism" must first be eliminated. A quick return to civilian rule is therefore unlikely.

One of the main priorities of the new government is the reconstruction of the neglected economy — potentially the richest in francophone West Africa.

Despite immense mineral wealth, including one-third of the world's known bauxite reserves, and plentiful fertile land, the Guinean economy has steadily deteriorated since 1958. Guinea has become one of the poorest countries on Earth, with a per capita income of \$290 a year.

Successive political purges resulted in severe economic disruption and the flight abroad of about 25 percent of a population of 5.3

million. Attempts to follow the Soviet economic model with centralized planning and state-controlled enterprises proved disastrous. A grossly overvalued and unconvertible currency, the syli, encouraged black-marketeering and smuggling. Farmers smuggled their crops across the frontier into Liberia and Senegal for payment in hard currency, creating food shortages in Conakry.

The military government has so far resisted demands for vengeance and has acted with moderation. But the prime minister and apparent top leader of the new regime, Colonel Diarra Traoré, indicated recently that leading members of the Sékou Touré government would be tried on charges of responsibility in the deaths of "many thousands" of Guineans.

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Containerization: Answer to Shipping Problems?

By Lisa Buckingham

LONDON — Container shipping is now an integral part of West African transport, and in the next few years hundreds of millions of dollars will be poured in to build more modern terminals. But the vast scale of investment has done little to quiet fears that containerization may not provide the promised solution to the region's transport difficulties.

The recent explosion of container facilities in West Africa was prompted largely by Western shipping lines, which had invested heavily in building modern cellular tonnage while containerized ships and which were no longer prepared to tolerate existing ports. West Africa was left in little doubt that shippers' services to exporting countries would deteriorate unless ports were upgraded.

The phenomenal cost of building container ports, compared with other types of port terminals, has reawakened concern that containerization may not be the right answer for West Africa's shipping industry.

Containerization has undoubtedly reduced theft and damage. It has helped inland transport operators and has speeded up the movement of goods. But experts in the shipping industry who are connected with the powerful Western-dominated shipping cartels or conferences now say that roll-on/roll-off (ro-ro) ships and terminals are more appropriate. These vessels are cheaper and the port facilities

needed to handle them are minimal. Rolling cargoes do away with the need for sophisticated handling gear and the vessels are able to carry the whole range of goods produced in the region.

There is a growing feeling that West Africa has already built port facilities beyond those that were really needed by Western shipowners. Some critics also charge that the investment decisions by the African national shipping lines were heavily influenced by the more established operators and that these decisions have now turned out to be wrong. Western owners wanted the West African lines to conform by buying multipurpose ships. Since then the Western owners have moved on to fully containerized ships, leaving the African owners with uneconomic ships and not enough cash to replace them.

It is only outside the shipping conferences that ro-ro ships are found in any numbers. During the last few years of trade upheaval in the region the ro-ro concept has proved to be the right answer for West Africa's shipping industry.

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The EC says its priority in the present talks is to improve the quality and effectiveness of the convention's aid package by attempting to increase levels of food production and food security. While this seems eminently sensible, given the precarious food situation in many ACP countries, the proposal that aid spending involve "dialogue" on ACP domestic policies has been the source of considerable controversy.

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The structure of the Commission of Heads of State and Government comprises the 13 member countries of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The Commission is the highest organ of the ECOWAS, and is responsible for the implementation of the ECOWAS Treaty and the promotion of the principles and objectives of the ECOWAS. The Commission is composed of the heads of state and government of the member countries, and is presided over by the President of the Commission, who is elected by the member countries for a term of three years. The Commission is responsible for the implementation of the ECOWAS Treaty and the promotion of the principles and objectives of the ECOWAS. The Commission is composed of the heads of state and government of the member countries, and is presided over by the President of the Commission, who is elected by the member countries for a term of three years. 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ECOWAS/CEDEAO

Ninth Anniversary of Foundation Treaty

IN MAY 1984, the Economic Community of West African States celebrated its 9th anniversary; it was on the 28th May 1975 that the Treaty establishing ECOWAS was formally signed in Lagos, Nigeria; and completed, on 5th November 1976, by the signature in Lomé, Togo, of five Protocols annexed to the Treaty. All independent West African States, decided, at the time, to expand their trade on a sub-regional scale to strengthen their co-operation in all fields and solidify their economic relations.

This was an event which became inevitable in November 1972, when Ministers representing the sovereign States decided to embark upon the process leading to the signing of the Treaty.

In the first instance, 15 Member States were involved — Benin, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Upper Volta, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Cape Verde. Since then, it has been run by common institutions.

The objective of this sub-regional Community is to raise the living standards of the people, increase and maintain economic stability, strengthen relations between its members and contribute to the progress and development of the African continent. To these ends, it promotes co-operation and development in every field of economic activity.

Geography

ECOWAS constitutes a continental and island unit with an area of 6,500,000 km².

The region is characterised generally by a hot climate which is humid towards the South, and dries as one advances northwards. The South is covered by dense forests which gradually give way northwards to the savanna, the steppe and finally the desert. This landscape to the north of the region is partly due to the scarcity of rainfall, as opposed to the South. There are three big rivers with common characteristics: the Senegal: 1,700 km; the Niger: 4,200 km and the Volta: 1,200 km.

Population

In 1975, the population of ECOWAS was 120 million. By 1982, it had risen to 150 million; 90% Black (the majority), the remaining 10% being made up of Whites (Moors), and half-castes (Foulahs). The population density is low, 19 persons per square kilometre, and this is unevenly distributed over the territory: the desert regions and some forest zones are not inhabited, whereas other areas are heavily populated. ECOWAS has a young population: 40% are less than 15 years old, but population increase is at the rate of 2% per annum. Even though the greater majority live in the rural areas — 90%, the young are continuously being attracted to the cities even though they sometimes remain unemployed.

Economy

Agriculture and Industry are the two nutrient sources of ECOWAS. The former plays a major role in feeding the populace, the role of the latter in export does not stop industrialisation efforts.

Agriculture, practised by 90% of the Community's population, provides tuber and grain food crops. In addition, it has become, in the coastal region, an exporter through plantations producing coffee, cotton, pineapples, bananas, rubber and palm-oil.

In the North, export crops are groundnuts, cotton, and sugar cane. But animal husbandry is the most common occupation.

Natural resources

The ECOWAS sub-soil contains substantial quantities of iron, bauxite, copper and phosphate, all of which are exported.

In the energy field, the coastal zone has abundant resources of coal, oil and hydroelectric energy which, in the near future, will fuel the development of heavy industry.

In this sphere, the North is much poorer and has to import every thing. But the existence of uranium in Niger has raised some hopes for industrialisation. The processing industries are concerned with the food; the textile, chemical and metallurgical industries all of which are established in urban centres and close to ports and airports.

STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

The supreme body

The Authority of Heads of State and Government comprises the 16 Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS member countries. The Authority controls the executive power, that is, the Executive Secretariat. This has power over the Council of Ministers which reports to the Authority, especially on issues where points of view continue to differ.

The Council of Ministers

The Decision-making and control body

The Council of Ministers is made up of two representatives from each Member State. It meets twice a year, either at the Headquarters of the Community, or at some other venue in a member country, each Member State takes up the Chairmanship, in rotation, for one year.

The Council of Ministers is assisted by technical Commissions who study the files and prepare the decisions, with the collaboration of the Executive Secretariat, which provides them with information on the life of the Community especially through the progress reports presented during their meetings.

Specialised committees

ECOWAS has a Committee of West African Central Banks made up of Central Bank Governors in the sub-region. The Committee meets each year and makes recommendations to the Council of Ministers on monetary matters. The Treaty also provides for a Committee on Capital Matters which ensures the movement of capital within the Community through the integration of financial markets and stock exchanges.

It also ensures that stocks and shares issued in one Member State are quoted in the other States and that transfers may be made throughout the entire Community without any restrictions. It is incumbent on the Committee to establish and maintain a Sub-regional Stock Market and enforce its rules.

The Technical Commissions

Preparation of dossiers

Before a project is adopted by the Council of Ministers, it is submitted to the relevant Commission which, after consideration, drafts a report.

The Treaty provides for four specialised technical Commissions covering all areas of activity of ECOWAS and comprise representatives of Member States and advisers.

The technical Commissions may act either on instructions from the Council of Ministers, at the request of the Executive Secretariat, or on its own initiative.

The Executive Secretariat

Driving-force and mainspring

This organ of the Community is run by the Executive Secretariat appointed for a 4 year term of office which can be renewed once.

It is assisted by two Deputy Executive Secretaries. In addition, the Secretariat also has a Financial Controller and other officers whose posts have been created by the Council of Ministers.

Members of the Executive Secretariat

Members of the Executive Secretariat cannot receive instructions from any one government and are subject only to the control of the Council of Ministers; who alone can ask for their removal from office.

The Secretariat is responsible for the day to day administration of the Community and must report, should the need arise, to the Council of Ministers on any difficulties encountered. However, it must always submit a progress report to the Council at every session.

The Executive Secretariat

The Executive Secretariat is the second guardian of the Treaty and must, at all times abide by the provisions of the Treaty and the decisions of the institutional organs, especially during negotiations with a third party.

Finally, the Executive Secretariat responsible for concreting the spirit of solidarity proclaimed by the political authorities.

The Executive Secretariat has an administrative unit in Lagos, Nigeria with a staff strength of 250. Some of them are responsible for language services, who ensure equal use of the two working languages of the Community — English and French.

ECOWAS FUND

The supreme body

The Fund

SPORTS

Lavis, U.S. Men Shatter World Swimming Marks

By Our Staff From Dispatches
LOS ANGELES — Male swimmers by a Canadian and a U.S. team, continued their assault on world records Thursday.

Actor Davis of Canada set a fast in the first hundred meters to 200-meter breaststroke and his world record to 2 minutes 13.34 seconds.

Then in the last race of the day, U.S. men's 4x100-meter free-relay, challenged most of the by Australia, pulled ahead at end to win the gold in the d-record time of 3:19.03.

It was the third U.S. success of 10-or-nothing night. George DiCarlo and John Mykkanen finished in the 400-meter freestyle, and T. Measher and Jenna Johnson gold-silver in the 100-meter butterfly.

Van Staveren of the Netherlands captured the 100-meter stroke in 1:09.88, snapping German Ute Geweniger's record.

Canadian and West German swimmers have broken a world records and three gold medals. However, the men have only set one world and four Games marks.

West German Sets Games Record, but Misses Gold

United Press International

LOS ANGELES — Thomas Fahrner of West Germany swam the fastest ever Olympic men's 400 meters freestyle Thursday — but went home without the gold medal.

Fahrner, 21, won his morning heat. However, his time, the ninth fastest overall, was too slow to qualify for the eight-swimmer medal race.

But in the afternoon, he won the "B" final in 3:50.91 minutes to set an Olympic record. He covered the distance 32-100ths of a second faster than U.S. gold medalist George DiCarlo, who only minutes earlier had improved Soviet swimmer Vladi-

mir Salnikov's Moscow Games mark of 3:51.31.

The International Swimming Federation Bureau (FINA) decided Fahrner's time should stand as an Olympic record, even though the race is not considered an Olympic event.

Fahrner, an economics student who trains in France, admitted that he had misjudged his swim in the heats. "I decided then I wanted to swim faster in the finals than the [gold medal] winner," he said. "When I saw DiCarlo's time, I was convinced I could beat it. I should have swum as hard as I could this morning instead of trying to take it easy and just qualify."

There was celebration in the Canadian camp when Davis broke his own record of 2:14.58 set in June at the Canadian Olympic Trials and also eclipsed the Olympic mark of 2:15.11 established in 1976 by David Wilkins of Britain.

Davis, 20, earlier swam under the world record in the 100-meter breaststroke, only to lose to Steve Lundquist of the United States. Thursday night in the 200 he pushed the pace from start to finish in a magnificent effort.

Glenn Beringen of Australia

captured the silver medal in 2:15.79, and Etienne Dagon of Switzerland won the third-place bronze, his country's first ever swimming medal, in 2:17.41.

"The gold medal means everything to me; that's what I've been working for all year," Davis said. "I had planned to come here to win two, but unfortunately Steve Lundquist went a little bit faster."

The Australian relay team had edged the U.S. men in the morning preliminaries with an Olympic mark of 3:19.94, but the substitu-

tion of Mike Heath and 100-free-style gold medalist Rowdy Gaines for Tom Jager and Robin Leamy made the home team the favorite.

After two legs, Australia led by seven-hundredths of a second, but Matt Biondi turned that deficit into a half-second lead for Gaines, who fought off Australia's Mark Stockwell over the last 50 meters.

"We have the best team ever as assembled," Gaines said, "but we have to accept the fact that the rest of the world is good, too. I thought we'd walk away with the relays

here. It was tough to watch Australia go so fast. I was scared to death of Stockwell."

Van Staveren led the 100-breaststroke all the way, with Anne Otenbrite of Canada edging Catherine Poirier of France for the silver by one-hundredth of a second. Poirier was earning the first swimming medal for France since 1968.

Olympics records continued to fall in the qualifying heats Friday.

Michael Gross of West Germany, who's already won two gold medals and set two world records at these Games, set a Games mark in qualifying for the final of the men's 200-meter butterfly. Gross was timed in 1:58.72.

On the previous heat, Pablo Morales of the United States broke the Olympic record 1:59.23, set in 1976 by Mike Bruner of the United States. Morales' time was 1:59.19.

Tracy Caulkins of the United States also established an Olympic record in qualifying for the final of the women's 200-meter individual medley. Caulkins, in 2:14.47, led 12 swimmers past the previous record of 2:23.07, set by Shane Gould of Australia in 1972, the last time the event had been contested in an Olympics. (WP, UPI, AP)



The Associated Press
Victor Davis celebrates his breaststroke victory: "The gold medal means everything to me."

Track Body Questions 2 World Marks

By Our Staff From Dispatches
LOS ANGELES — Recent d-record performances by Ferio Mamede of Portugal in the 100-meter run and Ingrid Kristiansen of Norway in the 5,000 meters are under investigation by the International Amateur Athletic Federation because of possible violations of IAAF rules, organization officials said Thursday.

Antonio Neri, president of the F — the international governing body for track and field — said, "Holt, its secretary-general, that Mamede was being investigated for 'alleged unfair pacing' and Kristiansen for 'infringement of advertising rules.'

The question of record ratification is scheduled for the next IAAF meeting in Canberra, Australia, in October.

On July 2 in Stockholm, Mamede ran the 10,000 in 27 minutes 1 seconds, beating the 27:24.4 seconds of Henry Rono of Kenya in Kristiansen, the first woman to break 15 minutes in the 5,000, 14:58.89 June 28 at a meet in which both the recognized record of 15:02.87 set by Decker in an American and unofficial mark of 15:01.83 set by Cola Budd, the South African recently became a British citizen. Budd's time is unofficial because she ran it before changing her citizenship, and the world body does not recognize records set by African athletes.

From various sources, including TV film, it was clear there were unusual aspects of Fernando Neri's race," Holt said. "They had competitors who had lapped, who slowed down, speeded up again when he hit up to them."

Holt said there also appeared to be unauthorized people on track assisting Mamede.

A view of these unusual circumstances, the council felt it should be investigated," Holt said. "Just cannot have world records being set with rules being tamely infringed."

Holt said Kristiansen had been tested with breaking what he'd the IAAF's Rule 53, which disallows competitors to display anything other than numbers or club logos while competing.

Meanwhile, Neri announced no world records would be set without proper doping rules.

Any athlete setting a world record must submit to a drug test in an hour.

Carl Lewis, meanwhile, began his quest for four Olympic gold medals in track and field by winning his 100-meter heat Friday.

Starting slowly, as is his style, he fell behind early but accelerated with about 30 meters to go and led to victory in 10.32 seconds. His victory moved Lewis into second round of the 100. (LAT)



The Associated Press
Koji Gushiken on the pommel horse, making up for the medal he missed in Moscow.

IOC Ejects Japan Masseur in Dope Incident

The Associated Press

LOS ANGELES — A Japanese masseur who gave a forbidden herbal drug to a member of Japan's volleyball team has been banned from the Olympic Games for 12 years, and the Japanese team was given a "severe warning" over the incident.

But the International Olympic Committee took no action against the player, who it said unknowingly took the drug.

Italian Fencer Triumphs In Sudden-Death Drama

United Press International

LOS ANGELES — Mauro Numa of Italy scored a dramatic sudden death victory over Matthias Behr of West Germany late Thursday to win the gold medal in the Olympic men's foil fencing tournament.

Italy also collected the bronze medal when Stefano Cerioni defeated Frederic Pietruszka of France by a score of 10-5.

Numa fought back in his two final matches from losing positions after it seemed he had no chance to take the gold medal. In the early going, both Numa and Behr were reluctant to concede points, alternating touches for the first six points. The German's aggressive style then enabled him to push ahead for four straight touches.

Behr seemed to mock the Italian's defensive style and bouncing manner, daring Numa to attack by lowering his weapon and stamping his lead foot at Numa. Yet when Numa took the bait, Behr unleashed swifter parries and ri-

postes. Then Numa seemed to find his own pace, scoring the next four touches.

With the clock set at 15 seconds left in the bout, the men alternated the next four points, tying the score with one second remaining. Numa won the final point in sudden death overtime. The final score was 12-11.

His Italian teammates and coaches crowded around him cheering and leaping with joy.

In the bronze medal round, Cerioni was on the offensive and got even stronger as the bout progressed, scoring the last four touches in a row. In the earlier round, Pietruszka of France upset the world champion, Andrea Borella of Italy, 10-6.

About 3,000 spectators turned out in Long Beach's Terrace Theater to watch the formal affair on a blue-carpeted stage decorated with potted flowers. A double row of officials were seated behind the white fencing strip, and the judges all wore tuxedos for the final.



The Associated Press
Mauro Numa's supporters joined him with gestures of triumph after the Italian beat Philippe Omnes of France.

Los Olympians Scream Foul, Games Officials Wrestle With Age-Old Problem of Inconsistent Judging

By John Feinstein
Washington Post Service

LOS ANGELES — The Americans screamed Monday and they screamed on Wednesday, when the women's team gymnastics competition was over, the Romanians had the gold and the U.S. had the silver.

As, happens at every Olympics, accusations were traded. The U.S. coaches protested the Romanian beam judge had consistently bid the U.S. lower than it deserved. The Americans pointed out the U.S. judges' scores were as high as the Romanians' was low.

Meanwhile, perfect 10s were being handed seemingly at will.

"The rules are screwed up," said Mike Jackin, head of the U.S. Gymnastics Federation. "Athletes have far out-accellerated the rules. That's one reason why there are so many 10s. What happened Monday (in the compulsory, where there was also a Romanian superior on the floor exercises) was simple: they thought they were protecting their own. That's the problem with judging in gymnastics. A good judge is someone who thinks stands up for their athletes, not someone who knows the rules and understands the rules."

Gymnastics is not the only sport at the Olympics with judging controversies. Boxing traditionally has been marred by strange decisions. Diving judges often are accused of national bias. And basketball had the most talked about judging decision of all, the one in 1972 that resulted in the United States' only loss in Olympic basketball.

Consider the first four days of these Olympics.

Day One: Minutes after the boxing competition began, there was a problem. The second bout of the day matched Shane Knox from Australia and Charles Lubulwa from Uganda. According to four of the five judges, Lubulwa won the fight. According to most who saw the bout, Knox won. Most puzzling though was this: one judge who sat at ringside, reportedly an expert on the sport, scored all three rounds for Knox. Two other judges, also experts, gave all three rounds to Lubulwa.

"Most disturbing," admitted Sydney Ashton, a genteel Australian who is the supervisor of the 44 judges and referees here. "We don't like to see such differences."

Day Two: The first gymnastics flap. During the compulsory round the U.S. coach, Don Peters, filed four judging protests. When it was

over, he called the Romanian beam judge "abominable."

Biased judging is as much a part of the Olympics as medal ceremonies.

"Eastern Bloc judges know that if they don't take care of their teams they won't be sent back," said one judge, who asked not to be identified. "Western judges know that and they try to even things up. It's a vicious circle."

Day Three: Moments after his Canadian basketball team was routed by the U.S. men, Coach Jack Donahue criticized the officiating. Pointing out that his team would have lost anyway, Donahue said the referees are intimidated by the U.S. coach, Bob Knight.

"When he calls them, they report to him for instructions," Donahue said. "The U.S. going to get the calls playing here. ... I just wish the refs would shut their mouths and referee the game. If they want to watch the U.S. play, let them buy a ticket."

Later that same day, after Rowdy Gaines of the U.S. swimming team won the 100-meter freestyle, there was considerable complaining about a quick start. Gaines agreed with the other seven swimmers that it was too fast. A protest was filed and denied.

Day Four: Gymnastics again. After the Romanians beat the U.S. women for the team gold,

the Americans were still furious about the judging. "It just cannot go on this way," says Bela Karolyi, the ex-patriate Romanian coach who now coaches several top Americans. "There must be changes in the rules and in the judging."

There have also been judging problems in wrestling, field hockey and shooting. And diving does not even begin until next week.

One of the most celebrated controversies in the Olympics was in basketball in 1972, when the U.S. men lost by one point to the Soviet Union after F. William Jones, secretary-general of FIBA, came out of the stands and ordered the men to go to six judges shortly. Steitz thinks both men and women may be using eight judges instead of the final three seconds of the game replayed.

Edward Steitz, secretary of the Amateur Basketball Association of the United States, said: "He sat in my house seven years later and said: 'He never dreamed the Soviets would go 94 feet in three seconds. But he never actually said, 'I believe it's 94 feet.'"

Since then, the rules in basketball, and in many other sports, have been reformed. Steitz is one of three men now in charge of the referees at the Olympics.

"Munich could never happen again, because one man from one country would never be allowed to make such a decision," Steitz said. "A controversy like that would come to us first and then go to another panel."

Boxing, which has traditionally been the scene of judging fiascos that would make Knock-Lubulwa seem tame, reformed its rules in 1982. Now, if the judges score a fight 3-2, a five-man panel of jurors is consulted. If the jurors score the fight 4-1 the other way, the judges are reversed.

Gymnastics has not moved as quickly. But next year, women's events will have six judges per exercise instead of four, and Jacki expects the men to go to six judges shortly. In fact, Jacki thinks both men and women may be using eight judges before the 1988 Olympics.

"The more different inputs you have the better your chances for objectivity," he said. "If you use more judges, more nations are involved and you have more neutrality. And, if a judge is scoring particularly high or low, it is that much more noticeable."

Jacki believes the rules in gymnastics need overhauling. "The athletes have out-accelerated the judges," he said. "The rules haven't changed as fast as the athletes have changed."

"[Nadia] Comaneci undoubtedly earned the [perfect] 10s she received in Montreal, but after that, there was so much pressure in gymnastics for there to be 10s given. It got to be the Indy 500 where everyone wants to see a crash. Everyone wants to see a 10."

"Now, if someone scored a 9.9, people say he screwed up. The fact is there is no such thing as a perfect exercise because no matter how good you are, the next guy can be better."

The proliferation of 10s here has caused considerable comment from the gymnasts. After eight 10s were handed out on the first day of men's competition, the American Bart Conner said, "It's gotten to the point where a 9.9 is the same as a certificate of participation."

Jacki believes there should be more emphasis on degree of difficulty in routines. As an example he cited Tuesday's men's team final. In the rings exercise, two of the Chinese men received 10s after doing relatively simple dismounts.

Three American men then tried more difficult dismounts, just missed hitting them perfectly and were penalized. Then American Mitch Gaylord finished his routine with a dismount similar to the ones done by the Chinese. He scored a 10.

"There needs to be more accounting for that extra degree of difficulty tried by the other guys," Jacki said.

Others in the international gymnastics federations agree. A recent coup among members of the technical committee removed its long-time leaders who had hesitated to change the rules. Many people now believe change will come more quickly.

PEOPLE

Court Orders Return
Of Marilyn Monroe Plea

A letter written by the actress Marilyn Monroe in 1961, before Lee Strasberg to get her out of mental hospital, has been awarded to the late drama coach's wife after a seven-month legal fight at a four-day trial. Anna Strasberg, who contended the letter had been stolen, was awarded the letter Thursday by a six-member Manhattan Surrogate Court jury. She filed the suit in January on learning the letter would be auctioned.

Sixteen explorers who retraced the mythological voyage of Jason and the Argonauts have sailed from Soviet Georgia, satisfied that the ancient odyssey actually occurred. Soviet newspapers reported Friday. The 40-foot (12-meter) reconstruction Bronze Age galley Argo left the Black Sea port of Batumi on Thursday, the latest union newspaper said.

"We achieved the goal of our journey," the British historian Tim Severin was quoted as saying in the newspaper report from Batumi, another Black Sea port. It has been confirmed that the ancient Greeks could reach the shore of the Black Sea even 30 centuries ago. The crew led by Severin, the old Greek port of Paphos, May 3 and reached Georgia July 17. Soviet soldiers on a strategic Far-East island of Sakhalin were puzzled but friendly when a French windsurfer appeared out of the fog after sailing across the Soya Strait from Japan. Armand Rosnay, 38, said in Tokyo Friday. He said the fog and a cold current were his main windsurfing during the three-hour voyage across the 30-mile strait. Back in Japan after two nights in the Soviet Union, de Rosnay heard from his Paris office that just after he set off on his sailboard, his wife received the reply to his request for a Soviet visa. It was a polite refusal. "I hope the current made the crossing dangerous."

An Arlington, Texas, theater group decided to stage Edward Albee's "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" as a play about two bickering male homosexual couples rather than heterosexual ones, but Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright Albee has canceled. "If I'd wanted to write a homosexual play, I would have," said Albee.

ART BUCHWALD

Nobody Has to Be Poor

WASHINGTON — If there are a lot of poor people in the United States, it's their own fault. Every time I open my mail someone wants to GIVE me money. The letters are addressed to me personally. Some enclose checks, and others certificates, bonds and coupons.

Let me give you an idea of what my mail was like the other day. I received one letter from an insurance company that was willing to pay me \$1,000 a month for the rest of my life if I came down with ANY kind of illness. I didn't even have to take a medical examination. "Yes, Mr. Buchwald," the writer said, "all you have to do is get sick and you will receive \$1,000 a month no matter what your state of health is at the present time."

The next letter was from the First National Bank of Wilmington, Delaware. Thomas Campenell, the president, was offering to deposit in my account \$50,000 as a line of credit with no collateral up front, which I could use at my own discretion. To show he meant business he was offering me an immediate cash advance of \$2,500 and a personalized checkbook which I could use against my account.

You can imagine how surprised I was to get this letter. For one thing, I've never lived in Delaware, and to my knowledge have never met Tom. But somehow he took a liking to me and decided he would trust me for \$50 big ones, without me having to set my foot in his bank in Wilmington.

I was about to send for the money when I glanced at the next envelope. It was a biggie. On the front was a great cellulose window which said, and I'm not making this up, "ART BUCHWALD SHALL BE PAID ONE MILLION DOLLARS IN CASH — GUARANTEED IN EQUAL ANNUAL INSTALLMENTS OF \$50,000.00 AND PAYMENTS MAY ACTUALLY DOUBLE TO TWO MILLION DOLLARS." There was a nice sketch of Ed McMahon on the envelope so I ripped it open.

Well, it was just as simple as it



Buchwald

sounded. I had been assigned nine exclusive PERSONAL prize numbers and if I sent in the Gold Label I was eligible to participate in the American Publishers Sweepstakes. I would be guaranteed the money if one of my numbers had already been drawn. In a personal letter, Ed said that he would give me the check for the \$1 million himself. I didn't have to subscribe to any of the magazines that Ed was pitching, but he indicated I'd be a fool if I didn't.

Now unlike Thomas Campenell, I do know Ed McMahon, and he's a very frugal guy. Ed doesn't throw that kind of money around unless he means it. So I immediately sent in my prize-winning numbers to him and I guess it will just be a matter of time until Ed will send for me to give me my first down payment.

The other mail was peanuts compared to McMahon's letter. One brokerage firm sent me what looked like a U.S. Treasury Bond which would go in my portfolio as soon as I opened an account with them. Herz mailed me a PLATINUM card which guaranteed a brand-new car would be waiting by the ramp when I got off my private plane at any airport in the United States. American Express enclosed a Gold Credit Card and informed me they had upped my credit to \$25,000. A computer company wanted to send me \$2,500 worth of software as a gift if I bought one of their micros, and a publisher wanted to know how many books he could send me FREE if I joined his First Edition Club.

As I said, this was a typical sampling of my mail for one day. It wasn't a bad haul, but nothing out of the ordinary. On some days companies want to send me gold bullion from their vaults; other days reservations, and last week I got two free airline tickets from a real estate development company in Orlando, Florida.

There are thousands of firms and individuals who keep offering me something for nothing, and only a fool would not take advantage of their generosity.

Show me a person in this country who is always crying poor, and I'll show you someone who doesn't open his mail.

Prince: The Rock Star As Provocative Actor

By Richard Harrington
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — "Purple Rain" may not be a great film — in fact, it's far from it — but it is a great introduction to Prince, the 25-year-old Minnesota who could shake up the world of rock 'n' roll in much the same way that 24-year-old Michael Jackson did last year. More so than "Thriller," or the "Beat It" and "Billie Jean" videos, "Purple Rain" offers revealing glimpses of one of the most complex and most gifted personalities in popular music today.

"Purple Rain" could be a sleeper hit along the lines of "Flashdance" and "Footloose," films of similar depth and spirit. That is, of little depth but immense spirit, more than half of it given over to powerful live performances, mostly by Prince and his band.

Despite its thin story line and frequently flat acting, "Purple Rain" is provocative, and the reason is Prince. Under a new-wave pompadour, with his doe eyes staring purposefully into the camera, a frail mustache hanging over a puppy-dog smile, he suggests Little Richard playing at Charlie Chaplin. In blatantly bawdy performance Prince can just as easily suggest James Brown playing at Max West. He also projects the studio savvy of Stevie Wonder and the guitar heroism of Jimi Hendrix — not bad for a self-taught musician.

The boy on the street, in the stores and on the airwaves is all Prince, just as it was, not so long ago, all Michael Jackson. The similarities are obvious — age, race, androgynous looks, reclusive habits. Both are veterans who already have gold and platinum albums behind them — and both have erased the racial and stylistic boundaries that divide contemporary popular music while creating highly personal music.

Prince, in particular, is a synthesist in the tradition of Jimi Hendrix and Sly Stone, not so much bridging the barriers that have been established between soul, funk and rock as making them irrelevant. To him, they provide a single ecstatic beat.

When it comes to image, however,

Jackson and Prince are worlds apart, as different as the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, or Johnny Mathis and Marvin Gaye. If Michael Jackson was a film, he'd be rated G in the United States, maybe PG-13. Prince, on the other hand, is beyond and well into the land of X. His last three albums showed an obsession with kinky sex, as well as social violence and political repression.

Show me a person in this country who is always crying poor, and I'll show you someone who doesn't open his mail.

But Prince is more than a Lenny Bruce

of pop. He is the self-made, self-defined, self-referential man. Before "Purple Rain," his five albums had been one-man shows: he wrote the songs, played all the instruments, did all the vocals, did the producing. Prince also developed a reputation as a perfectionist. When he signed with Warner Brothers at age 17, the company was so impressed with his knowledge of studio craftsmanship that it let him produce his debut record, making him the youngest producer in the label's history.

Though he has toned down his act in "Purple Rain," Prince remains the supreme sexual outlaw, sustaining an image that remains central to the rock 'n' roll mythology that blossomed with Elvis Presley, Chuck Berry and Jerry Lee Lewis. Rock's sexual overtones have become more overt and modernized, like this year's anodyne.

Prince's music, which incorporates a liquid, urban dance bottom with hard rock's metallic edge, is adventurous and accessible. The songs, full of twists and turns, are highly charged, textured and crafted, with synthesized orchestrations. More impressive are Prince's provocative vocals. Nowhere is his voice more impassioned than on "The Beautiful Ones," where he moves from angelic falsettos and bedroom sighs to electrifying screams reminiscent of Little Richard.

Like Michael Jackson and Bruce Springsteen, Prince has an aversion to the press. His last interview was in 1981 and since his private life is less public than Howard Hughes', details are hard to come by. This much is known (and much of it is supported by the screenplay of "Purple Rain," which was built around Prince's original outline):

Prince Rogers Nelson was born in 1959 in Minneapolis of black and Italian parentage. His father, John Nelson, was a piano player who worked at Honeywell Electronics by day and led a band under the name Prince Rogers at night. His mother was the band's singer. Their relationship was reportedly stormy and John Nelson moved out of the family home when his son was 7, leaving behind a piano, on which Prince soon started picking out tunes.

Growing up, Prince became something of a street renegade, running away from home at 12 and living in a succession of homes, sometimes with relatives, more often not. By his early teens, Prince had joined several schoolmates in bands playing around Minneapolis and his reputation as an obsessive talent was beginning to take hold.

In 1976, he went to record a demo tape in an eight-track studio. The owner gave him a set of Prince and Prince moved in, absorbing everything there was to absorb about studio technology. By 1977, he had been signed by Warner Brothers strictly on the basis of his potential.

Prince's debut, "For You," was fairly conventional progressive R&B (though unusual in that it was a one-man show). The promise showed itself in the second album, which included "I Wanna Be Your Lover," a black chart-topper that spurred near-saturation sales.

All that changed with "Dirty Mind," the first hard-core Prince album, the first in which he espoused a philosophy of "dance-music-romance," the first in which he began to meld post-disco funk with the edginess of hard rock and the melody of pop.

Often performing in bikini underpants, stockings and a fur coat, Prince assumed a ramrod 'n' roll pose that was as exaggerated as his lyrics.

Ironically, this debauched, wild-eyed public persona masked a private vulnerability that is convincingly depicted in "Purple Rain." The Kid's mother is a failed singer, his father a failed musician who beats his wife, and his son when he interferes. The Kid tries to distance himself from his parents by plugging into creative isolation, haunted by the thought that such violent and self-destructive impulses may be strong in himself.



Prince in scene from "Purple Rain."

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That's one of the pluses for "Purple Rain" — Prince's willingness to portray himself in less than flattering light. The Kid is paranoid; self-centered, callous, arrogant, cruel. He disregards well-intended advice, refuses to use or even listen to music he hasn't written, treats his band like serfs, his girlfriend like dirt. His desire for sharing himself or his music distances him and turns his music into a personal indulgence that loses him the loyalty of both his band and his fans.

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In his last interview three years ago, Prince said "my goal is to excite and provoke on every level. . . . The most important thing is to be true to yourself, but I also like danger. That's what's missing from pop music today. There's no excitement and mystery — people sneaking out and going to these forbidden concerts by Elvis Presley or Jimi Hendrix. . . . Music today is too easy. . . . I like to open people's eyes. Most bands out there are basically pretty boring. I try to affect people inside their bodies."

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